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ART. I. — *Catalogue of One Hundred Drawings by Michael Angelo, composing the Tenth Exhibition of the Lawrence Gallery, at 112 St. Martin's Lane.* London. July, 1836.

THERE are few lives of eminent men that are harmonious; few that furnish, in all the facts, an image corresponding with their fame. But all things recorded of Michael Angelo Buonaroti agree together. He lived one life; he pursued one career. He accomplished extraordinary works; he uttered extraordinary words; and in this greatness was so little eccentricity, so true was he to the laws of the human mind, that his character and his works, like Sir Isaac Newton's, seem rather a part of nature than arbitrary productions of the human will. Especially we venerate his moral fame. Whilst his name belongs to the highest class of genius, his life contains in it no injurious influence. Every line in his biography might be read to the human race with wholesome effect. The means, the materials of his activity, were coarse enough to be appreciated, being addressed for the most part to the eye; the results, sublime and all innocent. A purity severe and even terrible goes out from the lofty productions of his pencil and his chisel, and still more from the more perfect sculpture of his own life, which heals and exalts. "He nothing common did, or mean," and dying at the end of near ninety years, had

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not yet become old, but was engaged in executing his grand conceptions in the ineffaceable architecture of St. Peter's.

Above all men whose history we know, Michael Angelo presents us with the perfect image of the artist. He is an eminent master in the four fine arts, Painting, Sculpture, Architecture, and Poetry. In three of them by visible means, and in poetry by words, he strove to express the Idea of Beauty. This idea possessed him, and determined all his activity. Beauty in the largest sense, beauty inward and outward, comprehending grandeur as a part, and reaching to goodness as its soul, — this to receive and this to impart, was his genius.

It is not without pleasure that we see, amid the falsehood and griefs of the human race, a soul at intervals born to behold and create only beauty. So shall not the indescribable charm of the natural world, the great spectacle of morn and evening which shut and open the most disastrous day, want observers. The ancient Greeks called the world κόσμος, *Beauty*; a name which, in our artificial state of society, sounds fanciful and impertinent. Yet, in proportion as the mind of man rises above the servitude to wealth and a pursuit of mean pleasures, he perceives, that what is most real is most beautiful, and that, by the contemplation of such objects, he is taught and exalted. This truth, that perfect beauty and perfect goodness are one, was made known to Michael Angelo; and we shall endeavour by sketches from his life to show the direction and limitations of his search after this element.

In considering a life dedicated to the study of Beauty, it is natural to inquire, what is Beauty? Is this charming element capable of being so abstracted by the human mind, as to become a distinct and permanent object? We answer, Beauty cannot be defined. Like Truth, it is an ultimate aim of the human being. It does not lie within the limits of the understanding. "The nature of the beautiful," — we gladly borrow the language of Moritz, a German critic, — "consists herein, that because the understanding in the presence of the beautiful cannot ask, 'Why is it beautiful?' for that reason is it so. There is no standard whereby the understanding can determine, whether objects are beautiful or otherwise. What other standard of the beautiful exists, than the entire circuit of all harmonious proportions of the great system of nature? All particular beauties scattered up and down in nature are only so far beautiful, as they suggest more or less in themselves this

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entire circuit of harmonious proportions." This great Whole, the understanding cannot embrace. Beauty may be felt. It may be produced. But it cannot be defined.

The Italian artists sanction this view of beauty by describing it as *il più nell' uno*, "the many in one," or multitude in unity, intimating that what is truly beautiful seems related to all nature. A beautiful person has a kind of universality, and appears to have truer conformity to all pleasing objects in external nature than another. Every great work of art seems to take up into itself the excellencies of all works, and to present, as it were, a miniature of nature.

In relation to this element of Beauty, the minds of men divide themselves into two classes. In the first place, all men have an organization corresponding more or less to the entire system of nature, and therefore a power of deriving pleasure from Beauty. This is Taste. In the second place, certain minds, more closely harmonized with nature, possess the power of abstracting Beauty from things, and reproducing it in new forms, on any object to which accident may determine their activity; as stone, canvass, song, history. This is Art.

Since Beauty is thus an abstraction of the harmony and proportion that reigns in all nature, it is therefore studied in nature, and not in what does not exist. Hence the celebrated French maxim of Rhetoric, *Rien de beau que le vrai;* "Nothing is beautiful but what is true." It has a much wider application than to Rhetoric; as wide, namely, as the terms of the proposition admit. In art, Michael Angelo is himself but a document or verification of this maxim. He labored to express the beautiful, in the entire conviction that it was only to be attained unto, by knowledge of the true. The common eye is satisfied with the surface on which it rests. The wise eye knows that it is surface, and, if beautiful, only the result of interior harmonies, which, to him who knows them, compose the image of higher beauty. Moreover, he knew well, that only by an understanding of the internal mechanism, can the outside be faithfully delineated. The walls of houses are transparent to the architect. The symptoms disclose the constitution to the physician; and to the artist it belongs by a better knowledge of anatomy, and, within anatomy, of life and thought, to acquire the power of true drawing. "The human form," says Goethe, "cannot be comprehended merely through seeing its surface. It must be stripped of the mus-

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cles; its parts separated; its joints observed; its divisions marked; its action and counter action learned; the hidden, the reposing, the foundation of the apparent, must be searched, if one would really see and imitate what moves as a beautiful inseparable whole in living waves before the eye." Michael Angelo dedicated himself, from his childhood to his death, to a toilsome observation of nature. The first anecdote recorded of him shows him to be already on the right road. Granacci, a painter's apprentice, having lent him, when a boy, a print of St. Antony beaten by devils, together with some colors and pencils, he went to the fish-market to observe the form and color of fins and of the eyes of fish. Cardinal Farnese one day found him, when an old man, walking alone in the Coliseum, and expressed his surprise at finding him solitary amidst the ruins; to which he replied, "I go yet to school that I may continue to learn." And one of the last drawings in his port-folio, is a sublime hint of his own feeling; for it is a sketch of an old man with a long beard, in a go-cart, with an hour-glass before him; and the motto, *Ancora imparo.* "I still learn."

In this spirit he devoted himself to the study of anatomy for twelve years; we ought to say rather, as long as he lived. The depth of his knowledge in anatomy has no parallel among the artists of modern times. Most of his designs, his contemporaries inform us, were made with a pen, and in the style of an engraving on copper or wood; a manner more expressive, but not admitting of correction. When Michael Angelo would begin a statue, he made first on paper the *skeleton*; afterwards, upon another paper, the same figure clothed with muscles. The studies of the statue of Christ in the Church of Minerva at Rome, made in this manner, were long preserved.

It strikes those who have never given attention to the arts of design, as surprising that the artist should find so much to study, in a fabric of such limited parts and dimensions as the human body. But it is the effect of reflection to disclose evermore a closer analogy between the finite form and the infinite inhabitant. Man is the highest, and indeed the only proper object of plastic art. There needs no better proof of our instinctive feeling of the immense expression of which the human figure is capable, than the uniform tendency which the religion of every country has betrayed towards Anthropo-

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morphism, or attributing to the Deity the human form. And behold the effect of this familiar object every day! No acquaintance with the secrets of its mechanism, no degrading views of human nature, not the most swinish compost of mud and blood that was ever misnamed philosophy, can avail to hinder us from doing involuntary reverence to any exhibition of majesty or surpassing beauty in human clay.

Yet our knowledge of its highest expression we owe to the Fine Arts. Not easily in this age will any man acquire by himself such perceptions of the dignity or grace of the human frame, as the student of art owes to the remains of Phidias, to the Apollo, the Jove, the paintings and statues of Michael Angelo, and the works of Canova. There are now in Italy, both on canvass and in marble, forms and faces which the imagination is enriched by contemplating. Goethe says, that he is but half himself who has never seen the Juno in the Rondanini palace at Rome. Seeing these works true to human nature and yet superhuman, "we feel that we are greater than we know." Seeing these works, we appreciate the taste which led Michael Angelo, against the taste and against the admonition of his patrons, to cover the walls of churches with unclothed figures, "improper" says his biographer, "for the place, but proper for the exhibition of all the pomp of his profound knowledge."

The love of beauty which never passes beyond outline and color, was too slight an object to occupy the powers of his genius. There is a closer relation than is commonly thought between the fine arts and the useful arts; and it is an essential fact in the history of Michael Angelo, that his love of beauty is made solid and perfect by his deep understanding of the mechanic arts. Architecture is the bond that unites the elegant and the economical arts, and his skill in this is a pledge of his capacity in both kinds. His Titanic handwriting in marble and travertine is to be found in every part of Rome and Florence; and even at Venice, on defective evidence, he is said to have given the plan of the bridge of the Rialto. Nor was his a skill in ornament, or confined to the outline and designs of towers and façades, but a thorough acquaintance with all the secrets of the art, with all the details of economy and strength.

When the Florentines united themselves with Venice, England, and France, to oppose the power of the Emperor

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Charles V., Michael Angelo was appointed Military Architect and Engineer, to superintend the erection of the necessary works. He visited Bologna to inspect its celebrated fortifications, and, on his return, constructed a fortification on the heights of San Miniato, which commands the city and environs of Florence. On the 24th of October, 1529, the Prince of Orange, general of Charles V., encamped on the hills surrounding the city, and his first operation was to throw up a rampart to storm the bastion of San Miniato. His design was frustrated by the providence of Michael Angelo. Michael made such good resistance, that the Prince directed the artillery to demolish the tower. The artist hung mattresses of wool on the side exposed to the attack, and by means of a bold projecting cornice, from which they were suspended, a considerable space was left between them and the wall. This simple expedient was sufficient, and the Prince was obliged to turn his siege into a blockade.

After an active and successful service to the city for six months, Michael Angelo was informed of a treachery that was ripening within the walls. He communicated it to the government with his advice upon it; but was mortified by receiving from the government reproaches at his credulity and fear. He replied, "that it was useless for him to take care of the walls, if they were determined not to take care of themselves," and he withdrew privately from the city to Ferrara, and thence to Venice. The news of his departure occasioned a general concern in Florence, and he was instantly followed with apologies and importunities to return. He did so, and resumed his office.

On the 21st of March, 1530, the Prince of Orange assaulted the city by storm. Michael Angelo is represented as having ordered his defence so vigorously, that the Prince was compelled to retire. By the treachery however of the general of the Republic, Malatesta Baglioni, all his skill was rendered unavailing, and the city capitulated on the 9th of August. The excellence of the works constructed by our artist has been approved by Vauban, who visited them and took a plan of them.

In Rome, Michael Angelo was consulted by Pope Paul III. in building the fortifications of San Borgo. He built the stairs of Ara Celi leading to the Church once the temple of Jupiter Capitolinus; he arranged the piazza of the Capitol, and built its porticoes. He was charged with rebuilding the Pons Pal-

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atinus over the Tiber. He prepared, accordingly, a large quantity of blocks of travertine, and was proceeding with the work, when, through the intervention of his rivals, this work was taken from him and intrusted to Nanni di Bacio Bigio, who plays but a pitiful part in Michael's history. Nanni sold the travertine, and filled up the piers with gravel at a small expense. Michael Angelo made known his opinion, that the bridge could not resist the force of the current ; and, one day riding over it on horseback, with his friend Vasari, he cried, "George, this bridge trembles under us ; let us ride faster lest it fall, whilst we are upon it." It fell, five years after it was built, in 1557, and is still called the "Broken Bridge."

Versatility of talent in men of undoubted ability always awakens the liveliest interest ; and we observe with delight, that, besides the sublimity and even extravagance of Michael Angelo, he possessed an unexpected dexterity in minute mechanical contrivances. When the Sistine Chapel was prepared for him that he might paint the ceiling, he found the platform on which he was to work, suspended by ropes which passed through the ceiling. Michael demanded of San Gallo, the Pope's architect, how these holes were to be repaired in the picture ? San Gallo replied ; "That was for him to consider, for the platform could be constructed in no other way." Michel removed the whole, and constructed a movable platform to rest and roll upon the floor, which is believed to be the same simple contrivance which is used in Rome, at this day, to repair the walls of churches. He gave this model to a carpenter, who made it so profitable as to furnish a dowry for his two daughters. He was so nice in tools, that he made with his own hand the wimbles, the files, the rasps, the chisels, and all other irons and instruments which he needed in sculpture ; and, in painting, he not only mixed but ground his colors himself, trusting no one.

And not only was this discoverer of Beauty, and its teacher among men, rooted and grounded in those severe laws of practical skill, which genius can never teach, and which must be learned by practice alone, but he was one of the most industrious men that ever lived. His diligence was so great, that it is wonderful how he endured its fatigues. The midnight battles, the forced marches, the winter campaigns of Julius Cæsar or Charles XII. do not indicate greater strength of body or of mind. He finished the gigantic painting of the

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ceiling of the Sistine Chapel in twenty months, a fact which enlarges, it has been said, the known powers of man. Indeed he toiled so assiduously at this painful work, that, for a long time after, he was unable to see any picture but by holding it over his head. A little bread and wine was all his nourishment; and he told Vasari, that he often slept in his clothes, both because he was too weary to undress, and because he would rise in the night and go immediately to work. "I have found," says his friend, "some of his designs in Florence, where, whilst may be seen the greatness of his genius, it may also be known, that when he wished to take Minerva from the head of Jove, there needed the hammer of Vulcan." He used to make to a single figure nine, ten, or twelve heads before he could satisfy himself, seeking that there should be in the composition a certain universal grace such as nature makes, saying, that "he needed to have his compasses in his eye, and not in his hand, because the hands work whilst the eye judges." He was accustomed to say, "Those figures alone are good, from which the labor is scraped off, when the scaffolding is taken away."

At near eighty years, he began in marble a group of four figures for a dead Christ; because, he said, to exercise himself with the mallet was good for his health.

And what did he accomplish? It does not fall within our design to give an account of his works, yet for the sake of the completeness of our sketch we will name the principal ones. Sculpture, he called *his* art, and to it he regretted afterwards he had not singly given himself. The style of his paintings is monumental; and even his poetry partakes of that character. In sculpture, his greatest work is the statue of Moses in the Church of Pietro in Vincolo, in Rome. It is a sitting statue of colossal size, and is designed to embody the Hebrew Law. The lawgiver is supposed to gaze upon the worshippers of the golden calf. The majestic wrath of the figure daunts the beholder. In the Piazza del Gran Duca at Florence, stands, in the open air, his David, about to hurl the stone at Goliah. In the Church called the Minerva, at Rome, is his Christ; an object of so much devotion to the people, that the right foot has been shod with a brazen sandal to prevent it from being kissed away. In St. Peter's, is his Pietà, or dead Christ in the arms of his mother. In the Mausoleum of the Medici at Florence, are the tombs of Lorenzo

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and Cosmo, with the grand statues of Night and Day, and Aurora and Twilight. Several statues of less fame, and bas-reliefs, are in Rome and Florence and Paris.

His Paintings are in the Sistine Chapel, of which he first covered the ceiling with the story of the creation, in successive compartments, with the great series of the Prophets and Sibyls in alternate tablets, and a series of greater and smaller fancy-pieces in the lunettes. This is his capital work painted in fresco. Every one of these pieces, every figure, every hand, and foot, and finger, is a study of anatomy and design. Slighting the secondary arts of coloring, and all the aids of graceful finish, he aimed exclusively, as a stern designer, to express the vigor and magnificence of his conceptions. Upon the wall, over the altar, is painted the Last Judgment.

Of his designs, the most celebrated is the cartoon representing soldiers coming out of the bath and arming themselves; an incident in the war of Pisa. The wonderful merit of this drawing, which contrasts the extremes of relaxation and vigor, is conspicuous even in the coarsest prints.

Of his genius for Architecture, it is sufficient to say that he built St. Peter's, an ornament of the earth. He said he would hang the Pantheon in the air; and he redeemed his pledge by suspending that vast cupola, without offence to grace or to stability, over the astonished beholder. He did not live to complete the work; but is there not something affecting in the spectacle of an old man, on the verge of ninety years, carrying steadily onward, with the heat and determination of manhood, his poetic conceptions into progressive execution, surmounting by the dignity of his purposes all obstacles and all enmities, and only hindered by the limits of life from fulfilling his designs? Very slowly came he, after months and years, to the dome. At last he began to model it very small in wax. When it was finished, he had it copied larger in wood, and by this model it was built. Long after it was completed, and often since, to this day, rumors are occasionally spread that it is giving way, and it is said to have been injured by unskilful attempts to repair it. Benedict XIV., during one of these panics, sent for the architect Marchese Polini, to come to Rome and examine it. Polini put an end to all the various projects of repairs, by the satisfying sentence; "The cupola does not start, and if it should start, nothing can be done but to pull it down."

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The best commendation of his works is in their influence. The impulse of his grand style was instantaneous upon his contemporaries. Every stroke of his pencil moved the pencil in Raphael's hand. Raphael said, "I bless God I live in the times of Michael Angelo." Sir Joshua Reynolds, two centuries later, declared to the British Institution, "I feel a self-congratulation in knowing myself capable of such sensations as he intended to excite."

It will be readily conceded, that a man of such habits and such deeds, made good his pretensions to a clear perception and to accurate delineation of external beauty. But inimitable as his works are, in all three arts, his whole life confessed that his hand was all inadequate to express his thought. "He alone," he said, "was an artist whose hands can perfectly execute what his mind has conceived;" and such was his own mastery, that they said, "the marble was flexible in his hands." Yet, contemplating ever with love the idea of absolute beauty, he was still dissatisfied with his own work. The things proposed to him in his imagination were such, that, for not being able with his hands to express so grand and terrible conceptions, he often abandoned his work. This is the reason why he so often only blocked his statue. A little before he died, he burned a great number of designs, sketches, and cartoons made by him, being impatient of their defects. Grace in living forms, except in very rare instances, did not satisfy him. He never made but one portrait, (a cartoon of Messer Tommaso di Cavalieri,) because he abhorred to draw a likeness unless it were of infinite beauty.

Such was his devotion to art. But let no man suppose, that the images which his spirit worshipped were mere transcripts of external grace, or that this profound soul was taken or holden in the chains of superficial beauty. To him, of all men, it was transparent. Through it, he beheld the eternal spiritual beauty which ever clothes itself with grand and graceful outlines, as its appropriate form. He spoke of external grace as "the frail and weary weed, in which God dresses the soul which he has called into Time." "As from the fire, heat cannot be divided, no more can beauty from the eternal." He was conscious in his efforts of higher aims than to address the eye. He sought, through the eye, to reach the soul. Therefore, as, in the first place, he sought to approach the Beautiful by the study of the True, so he failed not to

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make the next step of progress, and to seek Beauty in its highest form, that of Goodness. The sublimity of his art is in his life. He did not only build a divine temple, and paint and carve saints and prophets. He lived out the same inspiration. There is no spot upon his fame. The fire and sanctity of his pencil breathe in his words. When he was informed that Paul IV. desired he should paint again the side of the chapel where the Last Judgment was painted, because of the indecorous nudity of the figures, he replied, "Tell the Pope that this is easily done. Let him reform the world and he will find the pictures will reform themselves." He saw clearly, that if the corrupt and vulgar eyes, that could see nothing but indecorum in his terrific prophets and angels, could be purified as his own were pure, they would only find occasion for devotion in the same figures. As he refused to undo his own work, Daniel di Volterra was employed to clothe the figures; hence ludicrously called *Il Braghettone*. When the Pope suggested to him, that the chapel would be enriched, if the figures were ornamented with gold, Michael Angelo replied, "In those days, gold was not worn; and the characters I have painted, were neither rich nor desirous of wealth, but holy men, with whom gold was an object of contempt."

It was not until he was in the seventy-third year of his age, that he undertook the building of St. Peter's. On the death of San Gallo, the architect of the church, Paul III. first entreated, then commanded the aged artist, to assume the charge of this great work, which, though commenced forty years before, was only commenced by Bramante, and ill continued by San Gallo. Michael Angelo, who believed in his own ability as a sculptor, but distrusted his capacity as an architect, at first refused and then reluctantly complied. His heroic stipulation with the Pope was worthy of the man and the work. He required that he should be permitted to accept this work without any fee or reward, because he undertook it as a religious act; and, furthermore, that he should be absolute master of the whole design, free to depart from the plans of San Gallo and to alter what had been already done.

This disinterestedness and spirit, — no fee and no interference, — reminds one of the reward named by the ancient Persian. When importuned to claim some compensation of the empire for the important services he had rendered it, he demanded, "that he and his should neither command nor

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obey, but should be free." However, as it was undertaken, so was it performed. When the Pope, delighted with one of his chapels, sent him one hundred crowns of gold, as one month's wages, Michael sent them back. The Pope was angry, but the artist was immovable. Amidst endless annoyances, from the envy and interest of the office-holders and agents in the work whom he had displaced, he steadily ripened and executed his vast ideas. The combined desire to fulfil, in everlasting stone, the conceptions of his mind, and to complete his worthy offering to Almighty God, sustained him through numberless vexations with unbroken spirit. In answer to the importunate solicitations of the Duke of Tuscany, that he would come to Florence, he replies, "that to leave St. Peter's in the state in which it now was, would be to ruin the structure, and thereby be guilty of a great sin;" that he hoped he should shortly see the execution of his plans brought to such a point that they could no longer be interfered with, and this was the capital object of his wishes, "if," he adds, "I do not commit a great crime, by disappointing the cormorants who are daily hoping to get rid of me."

A natural fruit of the nobility of his spirit is his admiration of Dante, to whom two of his sonnets are addressed. He shared Dante's "deep contempt of the vulgar, not of the simple inhabitants of lowly streets or humble cottages, but of that sordid and abject crowd of all classes, and all places, who obscure, as much as in them lies, every beam of beauty in the universe." In like manner, he possessed an intense love of solitude. He lived alone, and never, or very rarely, took his meals with any person. As will be supposed, he had a passion for the country, and in old age speaks with extreme pleasure of his residence with the hermits in the mountains of Spoleti; so much so, that he says he is "only half in Rome, since, truly, peace is only to be found in the woods." Traits of an almost savage independence mark all his history. Although he was rich, he lived like a poor man, and never would receive a present from any person; because it seemed to him, that if a man gave him any thing, he was always obligated to that individual. His friend Vasari mentions one occasion on which his scruples were overcome. It seems that Michael was accustomed to work at night, with a pasteboard cap or helmet on his head, into which he stuck a candle, that his work might be lighted and his hands at liberty. Vasari

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observed that he did not use wax candles, but a better sort made of the tallow of goats. He therefore sent him four bundles of them, containing forty pounds. His servant brought them after night-fall, and presented them to him. Michael Angelo refused to receive them. "Look you, Messer Michael Angelo," replied the man, "these candles have well nigh broken my arm, and I will not carry them back; but just here, before your door, is a spot of soft mud, and they will stand upright in it very well, and there I will light them all."—"Put them down, then," returned Michael, "since you shall not make a bonfire at my gate." Meantime he was liberal to profusion to his old domestic Urbino, to whom he gave at one time two thousand crowns, and made him rich in his service.

Michael Angelo was of that class of men who are too superior to the multitude around them to command a full and perfect sympathy. They stand in the attitude rather of appeal from their contemporaries to their race. But he did not, therefore, fix his eye upon his own greatness, and avert it from the good works of others. It has been the defect of some great men, that they did not duly appreciate or did not confess the talents and virtues of others, and so lacked one of the richest sources of happiness and one of the best elements of humanity. This apathy perhaps happens as often from preoccupied attention as from jealousy. It has been supposed that artists more than others are liable to this defect. But Michael Angelo's praise on many works is to this day the stamp of fame. Michael Angelo said of Masaccio's pictures, that when they were first painted they must have been alive. He said of his predecessor, the architect Bramante, that he laid the first stone of St. Peter's, clear, insulated, luminous, with fit design for a vast structure. He often expressed his admiration of Cellini's bust of Altoviti. He loved to express admiration of Titian, of Donatelli, of Ghiberti, of Brunelleschi. And it is said, that, when he left Florence to go to Rome, to build St. Peter's, he turned his horse's head on the last hill from which the noble dome of the Cathedral (built by Brunelleschi) is visible, and said, "Like you, I will not build; better than you I cannot." Indeed, as we have said, the reputation of many works of art now in Italy derives a sanction from the tradition of his praise. It is more commendation to say, "This was Michael Angelo's favorite," than to say, "This was

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carried to Paris by Napoleon." Michael, however, had the philosophy to say, "Only an inventor can use the inventions of others."

There is yet one more trait in Michael Angelo's history, which humanizes his character without lessening its loftiness; this is his platonic love. He was deeply enamoured of the most accomplished lady of the time, Vittoria Colonna, the widow of the Marquis di Pescara, who, after the death of her husband, devoted herself to letters, and to the writing of religious poetry. She was also an admirer of his genius, and came to Rome repeatedly to see him. To her his sonnets are addressed; and they all breathe a chaste and divine regard, which is not to be paralleled in any amatory poetry except that of Dante and Petrarch. They are founded on the thought, that beauty is the virtue of the body, as virtue is the beauty of the soul; that a beautiful person is sent into the world as an image of the divine beauty, not to provoke but to purify the sensual into an intellectual and divine love. He therefore enthrones his mistress as a benignant angel, who is to refine and perfect his own character. Condivi, his friend, has left this testimony; "I have often heard Michael Angelo reason and discourse upon love, but never heard him speak otherwise than upon platonic love. As for me, I am ignorant what Plato has said upon this subject; but this I know very well, that, in a long intimacy, I never heard from his mouth a single word that was not perfectly decorous and having for its object to extinguish in youth every improper desire, and that his own nature is a stranger to depravity." The poems themselves cannot be read without awakening sentiments of virtue. An eloquent vindication of their philosophy may be found in a paper by Signor Radici, in the London "Retrospective Review," and, by the Italian scholar, in the Discourse of Benedetto Varchi upon one sonnet of Michael Angelo, contained in the volume of his poems published by Biagioli, from which, in substance, the views of Radici are taken.

Towards his end, there seems to have grown in him an invincible appetite of dying, for he knew that his spirit could only enjoy contentment after death. So vehement was this desire that, he says, "his soul can no longer be appeased by the wonted seductions of painting and sculpture." A fine melancholy, not unrelieved by his habitual heroism, pervades his

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thoughts on this subject. At the age of eighty years, he wrote to Vasari, sending him various spiritual sonnets he had been composing, and tells him "he is at the end of his life, that he is careful where he bends his thoughts, that he sees it is already 24 o'clock, and no fancy arose in his mind but DEATH was sculptured on it." In conversing upon this subject with one of his friends, that person remarked, that Michael might well grieve that one who was incessant in his creative labors should have no restoration. "No," replied Michael, "it is nothing; for, if life pleases us, death being a work of the same master, ought not to displease us." But a nobler sentiment, uttered by him, is contained in his reply to a letter of Vasari, who had informed him of the rejoicings made at the house of his nephew Lionardo, at Florence, over the birth of another Buonaroti. Michael admonishes him, that "a man ought not to smile, when all those around him weep; and that we ought not to show that joy when a child is born, which should be reserved for the death of one who has lived well."

Amidst all these witnesses to his independence, his generosity, his purity, and his devotion, are we not authorized to say, that this man was penetrated with the love of the highest beauty, that is, goodness; that his was a soul so enamoured of grace, that it could not stoop to meanness or depravity; that art was to him no means of livelihood or road to fame, but the end of living, as it was the organ through which he sought to suggest lessons of an unutterable wisdom; that here was a man who lived to demonstrate, that to the human faculties, on every hand, worlds of grandeur and grace are opened, which no profane eye, and no indolent eye, can behold, but which to see and to enjoy, demands the severest discipline of all the physical, intellectual, and moral faculties of the individual?

The city of Florence, on the river Arno, still treasures the fame of this man. There, his picture hangs in every window; there, the tradition of his opinions meets the traveller in every spot. "Do you see that statue of St. George? Michael Angelo asked it, why it did not speak."—"Do you see this fine church of Santa Maria Novella? It is that which Michael Angelo called 'his bride.'"—"Look at these bronze gates of the Baptistery, with their high reliefs, cast by Ghiberti five hundred years ago. Michael Angelo said, 'they were fit to be the gates

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of Paradise.'" — Here is the church, the palace, the Laurentian library, he built. Here is his own house. In the church of Santa Croce are his mortal remains. Whilst he was yet alive, he asked that he might be buried in that church, in such a spot that the dome of the cathedral might be visible from his tomb, when the doors of the church stood open. And there, and so, is he laid. The innumerable pilgrims, whom the genius of Italy draws to the city, duly visit this church, which is to Florence what Westminster Abbey is to England. There, near the tomb of Nicholas Machiavelli, the historian and philosopher; of Galileus Galileo, the great-hearted astronomer; of Boccaccio; and of Alfieri, stands the monument of Michael Angelo Buonaroti. Three significant garlands are sculptured on the tomb; they should be four, but that his countrymen feared their own partiality. The forehead of the bust, esteemed a faithful likeness, is furrowed with eight deep wrinkles one above another. The traveller from a distant continent, who gazes on that marble brow, feels that he is not a stranger in the foreign church; for the great name of Michael Angelo sounds hospitably in his ear. He was not a citizen of any country; he belonged to the human race; he was a brother and a friend to all, who acknowledge the beauty that beams in universal nature, and who seek by labor and self-denial to approach its source in perfect goodness.

ART. II. — *Elements of International Law, with a Sketch of the History of the Science.* By HENRY WHEATON, LL. D., Resident Minister from the United States of America, to the Court of Berlin, &c. Philadelphia. 1836. 8vo. pp. 375.

THIS, so far as we are informed, is the first work upon the principles of the law of nations, that has appeared in the English language. Ward's History, though valuable in its way, is of course upon a different subject. Mr. Wheaton is well fitted by his professional pursuits, and his personal qualities and accomplishments, to supply this deficiency in our literature. As Reporter of the decisions of the Supreme Court of

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the United States, he had opportunity to familiarize himself with the principles of one of the most important branches of the science; and his subsequent employment in the diplomatic service of the Government, has naturally turned his attention to the whole subject, as it is set forth in other elementary treatises. We may add, that he possesses the literary taste and talent, necessary to give the work the requisite finish in point of style. It is founded, as would naturally be expected, upon the basis of the best preceding treatises, particularly those of Martens and Klüber, which enjoy the highest reputation in Europe. In many parts, our author follows them very exactly. In others, however, he makes important additions; and he infuses into the whole mass the liberal spirit that prevails in the institutions and administration of the government of his own country. It is this last circumstance, which renders the work particularly valuable. The preceding writers on the subject, though mostly liberal in their political opinions, are yet more or less tinctured with prejudices, derived from their training in a school entirely different from that which is afforded by the practical politics of this country. In the discussions which are constantly going on with foreign governments upon the principles of international law, it is of considerable importance that we should have some treatises to refer to, which are written entirely in the spirit of our institutions. We may add, that Mr. Wheaton, though liberal in his views, is at the same time judicious and moderate, in his exposition of them; and lays himself open to no well-founded objection, as a supporter of extravagant and impracticable theories.

The subject is introduced by a sketch of the history of international law, occupying sixteen pages. This is necessarily, from its brevity, a somewhat meagre and unsatisfactory account of the science, and perhaps might as well have been omitted; especially as the subject had been so ably treated, in an abridged and accessible form, by Sir James Mackintosh, in the celebrated Introductory Lecture to the course which he delivered on the law of nations.

The treatise itself is divided into four parts, which treat respectively of the *Sources and Objects of International Law*, of the *absolute International Rights of States*, of the *International Rights of States in their pacific relations*, and lastly, of the *International Rights of States in their hostile relations*.

In the first chapter, which treats of the sources of interna-

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tional law, Mr. Wheaton, in conformity with preceding writers, finds them in the general principles of the law of nature, regulating the relations of all moral agents, as applied to the intercourse of independent states. Though the principles are the same, whether applied to states or individuals, the difference between the characters of the subjects in the two cases, occasions great differences in the modes of applying these principles; that is, in the rules of practice. Hence, the law of nations constitutes a distinct and separate chapter of the law of nature. It derives its obligatory character entirely from its being a part of that law. The principal difference between them is, that while the evidence of the law of nature as applied to individuals, is sought for practical purposes in the civil law of each separate country; the evidence of the same law as applied to nations, is sought for practical purposes in treaties, conventions, decisions of admiralty courts, and in history, which may be regarded as a sort of collection of reports, showing how the law of nations has been understood and practised upon, at different times and places throughout the world. But the civil law in each country is binding, as such, on the individual, while the treaties, decisions of admiralty courts, and examples from history, which form the evidence of the law of nations, have, as such, no obligatory character upon the parties subject to that law. Hence, the law of nations resolves itself, for practical purposes, into the *usage of nations*, which is obligatory only so far as it may be conformable to the law of nature, of which conformity each nation remains for itself the sole and independent judge. It is only, therefore, as Mr. Wheaton rightly observes, in a peculiar and figurative sense, that we apply to the mass of particulars which makes up the evidence of this usage, the name of *Law*.

Upon these preliminary matters there is little dispute, at least among intelligent men, although the principles involved in them are far from being stated with perfect clearness by all the elementary writers. In his second chapter, entitled *Sovereign States*, Mr. Wheaton enters on a topic of a more debatable character. We may remark *en passant*, in reference to the title of this chapter, that the epithet *sovereign*, notwithstanding the contrary usage in this country, cannot perhaps with strict propriety be applied to a *state*. The correlative of *sovereign* is *subject;* but a state, as such, is entirely independent of every other moral person, and can have neither

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master nor subject. In its political sense, the word *sovereign* is properly applied to the highest or supreme power *in* a State; and in this sense it is habitually applied to the kings of Europe. In this country, the supreme or sovereign power is supposed to reside in the body of the people, who may be called with propriety *sovereign*, in contradistinction to the individual citizens, whether in or out of office. But the state, considered in its relation to other states, has no character either of *sovereignty*, that is, superiority, or *subjection*, that is, inferiority. All states stand, as such, on a footing of perfect equality. The idea intended, is properly expressed by the word *independent*. This may, perhaps, be thought a rather minute criticism; but perfect clearness and propriety in the use of language are absolutely indispensable to correct reasoning. The inconvenience of using the word *sovereign* in relation to states, is apparent occasionally in the work before us; as in the following remark.

"Sovereign states may be either single, or may be united together under a common sovereign, or by a federal compact."

States, which are at the same time *sovereign* and *subject*, must have a rather anomalous existence. — The phrase *sovereign states*, as here used, means merely *political societies*, or in one word *states*; and the idea is, that states may be either entirely independent, or united under a common government, or by a federal compact. The use of *single* in connexion *with state, instead of independent*, is an innovation, and we think not a happy one, on the usual forms of language.

In this chapter, Mr. Wheaton gives a succinct account of the nature of the union between Prussia and Poland, of the confederations of Switzerland and Germany, and of the Federal Constitution of this country. In speaking of the latter, he takes the true and only tenable distinction, between a league or confederacy of independent states, and a union of states into one body politic or people, like our own; which is, that in the former case, the acts of the body, representing the confederacy, are in the nature of requisitions on the members, and have no direct application except through the agency of the state governments. Whereas in the latter, the laws enacted by the federal government operate directly upon individuals, without the intervention of the states. This condition of things cannot be reconciled with any correct notion of entire independence, or in the common phrase, sovereignty. Hence,

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the epithets independent or sovereign, when applied as they sometimes are, to the States of this Union, must be understood, if they are to be considered as correctly used, in a limited and qualified sense.

Mr. Wheaton also touches, in this chapter, on the interesting questions connected with the acknowledgment of the independence of new states, and on the manner in which the obligations of states are affected, by changes in their internal constitution, or in the person of the sovereign. He decides, that under all such changes they continue bound by their treaties, and responsible for all their acts. This principle formed the basis of the demands made by our government upon those of France, Holland, Spain, and Naples, after the fall of Napoleon and his dynasty, for indemnification for depredations committed upon our commerce during their period of power. The demand was long contested, sometimes on principle, but more frequently by evasive pretences of one kind or another, until at length it was acceded to by France, during the favorable moment immediately following the Revolution of 1830, when Lafayette exercised a strong influence in the public affairs. The other powers followed her example. The precedent thus established is of the most salutary character; and the whole affair furnishes one of the most remarkable examples, recorded in history, of the triumph of justice in international concerns, under very difficult circumstances, without resort to arms, and by the mere effect of perseverance, firmness, and discretion, in the management of the peaceful artillery of reason.

In the second part, which treats of the *absolute International Rights of States*, Mr. Wheaton discusses, at some length, the delicate question of the Right of Intervention by one state in the internal affairs of another; and gives a succinct but interesting sketch of the several instances of such intervention, that have occurred in the recent history of Europe. As respects the character of these proceedings, Mr. Wheaton correctly remarks, that "they cannot be referred to any fixed and definite principle of international law, or considered as furnishing a general rule fit to be observed in other apparently analogous cases." It is obvious, in fact, that intervention by one state in the internal affairs of another, is inconsistent with the relation of independence which exists between them; and is, therefore, contrary to the law of nature. If justifiable at all, it must be

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justified, in each case, as an exception to the general law, on the high and paramount ground of absolute self-defence. The right, sometimes asserted, of interfering to prevent the aggrandizement of a state by lawful means, lest its increased power, if abused, should become dangerous, is obviously a mere chimera. It is not only the right, but the duty, of every state to develope its resources to the utmost. The pretence in question, which if honestly put forward would be merely absurd, is in practice uniformly a cover for cupidity and violence. Cases may however be supposed, in which the known and avowed principles of the constitution and administration of a state may be such, as not only to justify other nations in interfering, but to render it their strict and solemn duty. Such, for example, was the little community of the Assassins in the mountains of Syria; and such at the present day are the piratical states of Barbary. The toleration of the existence of these hordes of sea-robbers by the great maritime powers, in order that they might serve as a check upon the trade of the smaller ones, is one of the least honorable features in the history of modern Europe; and it is a fit subject of national pride with us as Americans, that the determination recently evinced by Great Britain and France to break them up, may be traced in no small degree to the influence of our example.

The fourth chapter of this part contains, among other interesting passages, an account of the negotiations carried on by the government of the United States with those of Spain and Great Britain, respecting the navigation of the rivers Mississippi and St. Lawrence.

In the third part, which treats of the *International Rights of States in their pacific relations*, Mr. Wheaton recapitulates succinctly the commonly received rules, respecting the interchange of diplomatic agents, and the conclusion and observance of treaties. In the fourth and last part, which is the longest and most important of all, he discusses the various questions that concern the *International Rights of States in their hostile relations*. These were justly considered by Grotius as constituting the substance of the Law of Nations, and he accordingly gave to his work the title of a Treatise on the Laws of Peace and War.

In considering the rights of war, as between enemies, Mr. Wheaton adverts briefly to the different rules that prevail as to the capture of private property on land and at sea. In the

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former case, it is, as is well known, considered as prohibited by the law of nations, and in the latter as admitted. Although no reason, in the least degree satisfactory, ever has been or can be assigned for this difference, no symptom has appeared in the history of modern Europe of a disposition to abandon it, excepting in the single case of the first treaty between the United States and Prussia, negotiated by Dr. Franklin in 1783. In this treaty, it was expressly stipulated (art. 23) in the first place, that private property should not be taken on land without compensation; and then, that *all merchant vessels, employed in the exchange of the produce of different places, and thus supplying their inhabitants with the necessaries, comforts, and luxuries of life, should pass freely and without molestation; and the two contracting Powers agreed not to grant any commissions to privateers, which should authorize them to capture such vessels or to interrupt their trade.*

This article is commonly spoken of, as if its object were merely to prohibit privateering, leaving the capture of private property by public ships on its former footing. Even Mr. Wheaton appears to put this construction upon it. Our readers will perceive by the language of the text, which we give in a literal translation from the French copy before us, that the intention was to prohibit the capture of private property by ships of any kind, and that *privateering* is not prohibited, excepting in its operation on private property.

This article was omitted in the new treaty with Prussia negotiated by Mr. John Quincy Adams in 1799, probably at the suggestion of the other party. In his Presidential Message to the House of Representatives, announcing the appointment of ministers to the intended Congress at Panama, Mr. Adams mentions the abolition of this distinction between the modes of treating private property in time of war on land and at sea, as one of the objects that would probably engage the attention of that body. "I cannot," he remarks, "exaggerate to myself the unfading glory with which these United States will go forth in the memory of future ages, if by their friendly counsel, by their moral influence, by the power of argument and persuasion alone, they can prevail upon the American Nations at Panama, to stipulate by general agreement among themselves, and so far as any of them may be concerned, the abolition of private war upon the ocean."

The topic of the *Rights of War as respects Neutrals*, or, in the

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common phrase, *Neutral Rights*, which occupies the closing portion of Mr. Wheaton's book, has created more discussion than any other, and, from the part taken in these discussions by our own country, will be read with great interest. Mr. Wheaton reviews, in a succinct but lucid and satisfactory manner, the questions of the Rule of 1756, of blockade, of the articles properly denominated *contraband* of war, and of the right of search and impressment. On all these delicate and disputed subjects, his views are liberal without being extravagant. The existing usage of nations, which has been determined in a great measure by the practice of the British Government, is considered, by our author, to be of an illiberal character. His own feeling is throughout in favor of the other construction, which it has been for many years past the effort of this country, and of most of the continental powers of Europe, to introduce and establish.

The fundamental doctrine of what may still be called the existing law of nations on these subjects, is that which recognises a belligerent right of visitation and search. Sir William Scott, in his opinion in the case of the Maria,* remarks on this subject, that "no man can deny this right who admits the right of maritime capture ; because, if you are not at liberty to ascertain by sufficient inquiry whether there is property that can legally be captured, it is impossible to capture." And Mr. Wheaton appears to coincide in this view of the subject. "Even if the right of capturing enemy's property be ever so strictly limited, and the rule of *free ships free goods*, be adopted, the right of visitation and search is essential, in order to determine whether the ships themselves are neutral, and documented as such, according to the law of nations and treaties." To this, however, the advocates of the opposite doctrine reply, that the right of capturing at sea private property belonging to enemies, admitting it to exist, is an odious one, condemned by the practice on land of the same powers that claim it, and obviously in contravention of the great interests of humanity, which require the limitation in every possible way of the ravages of war. The right in question being of this character, instead of carrying with it any other rights as incidental, must itself, they say, be construed in the strictest possible manner. Instead of requiring every vessel that sails the ocean, to prove by written documents to the satisfaction of a searching officer, that she is not an enemy, natural

* Rob. Adm. Rep. I. 340.

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justice, they urge, throws the burden of proof upon the belligerent, who must have sufficient evidence, before he ventures to molest a vessel in any way, that she is an enemy, and then may proceed, as in the case of attacking an armed vessel or a body of armed men, at his peril. They insist, that the idea that because two nations go to war, the commercial exchanges of all other nations are thereby subjected to their supervision, is so obviously untenable, that nothing but the great power of the nations putting forward the pretension could have given it plausibility; and that it would be much nearer the truth to say, that the other nations have a right to look into the causes of the quarrel between the two belligerents, and compel them by force to bring it to an amicable adjustment. In modern times, when any of the principal nations have remained in a state of neutrality during a war in Europe, they have, in fact, looked upon this pretension with very little favor. The coalition of the continental powers commonly called the *Armed Neutrality*, which was formed in the year 1780, and afterwards revived in 1800, began by refusing to submit to the alleged right of search in regard to vessels under convoy. The British Admiralty Courts insisted, and at both these periods the progress of events pretty soon terminated the question, by involving Russia, and the other great neutral powers, in the war. Had they continued neutral, they would probably have soon taken the higher ground of a complete denial of the right of visitation and search.

On the disappearance of this pretension, the questions respecting the rules of *free ships free goods*, *contraband of war*, and *impressment*, would fall of themselves. The British Government, at the opening of the French revolutionary war, attempted, as is well known, to establish the rule that provisions may, in some cases at least, be regarded as contraband, and seized many of our vessels under this pretence. It is to be regretted, that some countenance was given to this pretension by the eighteenth article of Mr. Jay's treaty with Great Britain, recognising the existence of cases in which provisions may, under the law of nations, be regarded as contraband, and providing for them. Mr. Wheaton appears to think, that this article in Mr. Jay's treaty "was manifestly intended to leave the question where it found it. The two parties," says he, "not being able to agree upon a definition of the cases in which alone provisions and other articles, not generally contraband,

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may be regarded as such, concurred in stipulating, that whenever any article, so becoming contraband *according to the existing law of nations*, shall for that reason be seized, the same shall not be confiscated, but the owners shall be completely indemnified in the manner provided for in the article." We cannot agree with our author in this view of the effect of the article, or of the intention of the parties. The parties, though unable to agree upon the precise cases in which provisions may be regarded as contraband, agree that there are some such cases, and provide for their occurrence. The objection to this is, that there are no such cases ; and that the pretence that provisions may *in any case* be regarded as *contraband*, was a mere cover for belligerent cupidity. Mr. Wheaton intimates, that the American commissioner may have had in view the case of provisions bound to a blockaded port. But this construction can hardly be admitted, for two reasons ; first, because in regard to articles bound to a blockaded port there is no distinction between contraband and not contraband, the whole being liable to confiscation on a different ground ; and, secondly, it is apparent that this could not have been the intention of the parties, because the case of a blockaded port is provided for in another part of the same article. In making these remarks, we mean of course no disparagement to the character of Mr. Jay, whose patriotism and ability are generally acknowledged, and whose error is to be attributed to no other motive than an anxious desire to effect the object of his mission, and avert the impending danger of a war with England.

Of all the extravagant pretensions put forward by the belligerent powers during the late war, that of paper blockades was perhaps the most violent and absurd. A blockade is the investment by sea of a place, which the besieging party expects to compel by starvation to surrender. To carry supplies of any kind to a place so situated, would be to take a direct part in the war ; and accordingly, the usage of nations authorizes the seizure and confiscation of neutral vessels bound to a blockaded port. But the rule requires, that the blockading force should be actually present ; and the reason of the rule, which would of course govern its application in every impartial prize court, requires, that the place should be invested at the same time by land. Upon this narrow basis of admitted right, the belligerent powers erected the enormous pretension

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of establishing by a simple notification, a permanent blockade of all the ports, in the whole coast of kingdoms and continents. It should be added, that each justified these proceedings, chiefly on the ground that they were in retaliation for similar acts by the other. The condition of the *neutral* in this case, was even worse than that of the *Achivi*, in the Latin poet. Whatever extravagance was committed by either belligerent, the neutral (for there was only one), was sure to be plundered by both; and it can be no great matter of surprise to any one, that he was at last "kicked into war."

While the great powers were playing these fantastic tricks before high Heaven, the smaller ones occasionally tried their hands at the same game. In the years 1809, 1810, the king of Denmark undertook to capture a number of American vessels, on various pretences; one of which was, that some of them had made use of British convoy, — a circumstance, which, according to his Danish Majesty's construction of the law of nations, subjected the offending vessel to capture and condemnation. A long negotiation ensued between the two governments, which was terminated, in 1830, by a convention, concluded on the part of the United States by Mr. Wheaton himself, in which Denmark stipulated to pay a fixed sum, by way of indemnity, to be distributed by our own government among the sufferers. Our author's account of the negotiation on this subject, (pp. 353–364,) may be advantageously consulted, for a specimen of the style and manner of the work.

Before we conclude, we are tempted to add a very few remarks upon another recent work, in which the same subject is treated, though in a different way. We allude to the "Manual of Peace," by Professor Upham, of Bowdoin College. Occupying the chair of Mental and Moral Philosophy, in that respectable institution, and known already to the public, in a favorable manner, by several works of great merit, Professor Upham will naturally be heard, with much respect, upon any subject connected with his line of study; and we regret to see the authority of his name lent to opinions, which we consider as decidedly untenable. Without intending to discuss the topics in question, we feel it a duty, to enter our protest against one leading view, in brief but distinct terms.

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The doctrine advanced, and maintained throughout the work, is that of the universal *inviolability of human life.* No individual acting in a private or public capacity, is justified in voluntarily taking the life of another, either in the way of punishment for crime, or the strictest self-defence. If defensive war be considered as lawful, says Mr. Upham, there will never be wanting pretences for attributing that character to all wars, however violent and unjustifiable. This may be to a certain extent true; but the question is not how a certain principle, if true, may be abused, but what the truth is. It may be said in the same way, that, if the use of food, or the intercourse between the sexes, be allowed, the permission will certainly be abused, for purposes of vicious sensual indulgence, and, therefore, that they ought to be entirely prohibited. Though the fact must be admitted, in regard to both, few judicious persons would consider it as authorizing the conclusion. However sophistically the plea of self-defence may be used at times by nations and individuals, there are certainly many cases, in which it may be urged with perfect truth. The laws of nature, and of God, which are the same, authorize in such cases, where necessity requires it, the taking of life; nor has any nation, of ancient or modern times, ever scrupled to found its legislation upon this basis. Our author relies very much in argument, upon the humane and pacific spirit of our religion, as evinced in various passages of the Scriptures, and particularly the article of the Decalogue, which is emphatically confirmed in the New Testament; *Thou shalt not kill.* Concurring with him entirely, in his view of the spirit of Christianity, we conceive that his construction of the commandment in question, is contradicted alike by the plain common sense of the world, and by the practice of the people to whom it was originally given; and who certainly never understood it in the sense now given to it by Mr. Upham. Indeed, the case in which an individual must either lose his own life, or take that of another who is violently attacking him, is obviously one in which the rule admits of no application, because the individual must, in either event, sacrifice life. If, in order to avoid taking the life of his antagonist, he voluntarily gives up his own, he commits suicide; and this is as clearly within the prohibition of the commandment, as homicide of any other kind. He must necessarily *kill;* and the only question is, whether he will kill

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a sanguinary ruffian, or a quiet and peaceable citizen; — a problem, which, apart from any prejudice founded on the *amour propre* of the individual, can only be solved upon any principle of religion, morals, or common sense, in one way.

We need not, however, go into this minute criticism; nor are we disposed to restrict the right of taking the life of another, in self-defence, to the single case, where it is absolutely indispensable to the preservation of our own. Life is not the greatest of goods; nor is the preservation of it in ourselves, or our neighbours, to be held paramount to all other considerations. Life must be freely and unscrupulously sacrificed, if necessary, in a good cause of any kind. Such is the dictate of the noblest feelings of the heart; and such has been the doctrine and practice of the best and wisest men of every age and country. The voice of God within us confirms it as true, and denounces the opposite sentiment, as cowardly and base. The man who could stand by to see his wife dishonored, and his children slaughtered, and then acquiesce in the loss of his own life, rather than take that of the ruffian, who should undertake to perpetrate these outrages, would not deserve to be classed with his species.

The case is equally clear, of a nation engaged in a *really* defensive war. The question was put to the late Mr. Grimké, of Charleston, S. C., who was an enthusiast upon this subject, what he would do, if a band of pirates should assail a town, of which he should happen to be the responsible magistrate. His answer, which Mr. Upham quotes at length, and with high approbation, was substantially as follows. "If any fellow-citizen insisted upon my taking measures for a forcible defence, I would at once resign. If I could have my own way, I should make proclamation, that all the churches be opened, and that prayer be offered by the clergy, and all the pious, that God would be pleased to change the hearts of our invaders, and to manifest his power and mercy in our deliverance. That done, I should throw open the gate that fronted the enemy. Thence would I issue forth, not with a band of cavalry and infantry, but with all the clergy, and a long succession of Sunday School teachers and scholars, dressed in the white robes of peace, and chanting no battle song of the Bruce, but the hymn of Christian faith and hope. Can it be doubted, that such a spectacle would soften the hearts, and change the purposes, of that band of greedy, lustful, bloodthirsty pirates?"

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It is unnecessary, we presume, to comment upon this passage. We are induced to notice it, because we consider such extravagancies in the professed, and, no doubt, sincere advocates of humanity and justice, as exceedingly prejudicial to the cause. We regret to see them countenanced by the authority of Mr. Upham.

ART. III. — *The Works of William Cowper, Esq. With a Life of the Author*, by the Editor, ROBERT SOUTHEY, Esq., LL. D., Poet Laureate, &c. London. 1835–36. Five Volumes. 16mo.

COWPER'S genius, character, and singular history would alone account for the interest that has been felt in the particulars of his life; but several circumstances have no doubt aided to strengthen and sustain it. A large part of his Biography being composed of his familiar letters, and even shadowed forth, not ambiguously, in his most popular poetry, an acquaintance next to personal has been established between the author and his readers. Again, the whole of his case was not laid at once before the world by his biographers; some facts, and not the least striking, were disclosed at distant periods. If attention had drooped, it was sure to be revived by some new form of horror; and curiosity was no doubt animated by the suspicion, that there was yet more in reserve. And further, the undisputed facts of his life have led to differing opinions, sometimes upon points, which, to say the least, are exceedingly curious, and at others upon those which are always important, if for no other reason than that they are always agitating. There are questions not yet at rest concerning the religious aspects of his case; new theories are still offered to explain the phenomena of his mental disease; and, unnatural as it may seem in connexion with Cowper, a portion of the zeal that is now manifested in relation to him bears some marks of party feeling.

Hayley, his friend and earliest biographer, was induced, by tenderness to the living and to the memory of the dead, and no doubt by a reluctance to injure the pleasing idea which the readers of his poetry had formed of the man, to withhold or touch lightly upon, the particulars of his insanity. He

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called it by gentle names, or softened it by circumlocutions. The great body of Cowper's correspondence and papers was submitted to his inspection, that he might select what he deemed illustrative of his life, character, and writings, and honorable to his memory. The rule he prescribed for himself in the use of his materials, has a little of the sentimental and fastidious air, which is to be seen in his writings; but it shows tenderness to the good fame of his friend, a profound reverence for his character, and a sense of his own responsibleness in the discharge of a delicate office. "In the whole course of this work," he says, "I have endeavoured to recollect, on every doubtful occasion, the feelings of Cowper; and made it a rule to reject whatever my perfect intimacy with those feelings could lead me to suppose the spirit of the departed poet might wish me to lay aside as unfit for publication."

Hayley could not see that the public had any more concern with what was going on in a madman's cell than ordinarily in a sick man's chamber; or why, because Cowper was a great moral poet, it was therefore important to give a minute history of his life at a time when he was mentally and spiritually sick or dead. A mere medical report of an important case of mental disease cannot be too minute, whether we consider the patient's restoration, or the light that may be thrown on a class of maladies. But in a merely biographical view, he thought it every way advisable to give the least painful representation of the poet which he could give with honesty. Accordingly, he passed over most of the particulars of Cowper's remarkable Narrative of his early years and first attack of madness; his repeated attempts upon his own life; his melancholy communications with the poor schoolmaster at Olney, to know what was the divine will and purpose concerning him: and while he intimated, more or less clearly, the visitations of insanity or depression, he said nothing of the fact, that for nearly thirty years before his death, his friend was rarely, if ever, relieved from the harrowing conviction that God had forsaken him for ever, because he had failed to offer up his life, when he knew that Heaven demanded the sacrifice, and had given him power to accomplish the act of obedience. Hence his ceasing from all "attendance upon public and domestic worship and from every attempt at private prayer," till madness in a different form tempted him to try, and try in vain, what prayer could do for him.

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In a series of Letters, published by his kinsman, J. Johnson, about twelve years since, we have Cowper's communications to Newton respecting the horrors of his spiritual condition, and which Hayley had rejected. The "Memoir of his Early Life," written by himself, and before referred to, had been published a few years earlier. These, with still added disclosures of a later date, have probably informed us of all that Hayley omitted, and, it may be hoped, of all the forms of mental agony which this suffering man was called to pass through.

We know not that any general rule of selection and exclusion can be laid down to regulate posthumous publication. Hayley, in following a rule which he made for himself, may have been over-scrupulous; while others, in printing every thing they could lay hands on, may be charged with rudeness or indiscretion. To speak from our own feelings, we must say, that we see reasons to condemn, and none to justify, the publication of a considerable part of what may be called Cowper's secret history, or that of his insane delusions. The most obvious objections are, that it is calculated, with many other stimulating kinds of composition, to create or minister to a false appetite and taste, and to give an imperfect and false idea of the man, even though every thing put down be strict matter of fact. Of these we may speak presently.

There is probably a more hidden objection, which in some minds will operate quite as powerfully as those we have stated, though it may not pass for much with others. It is, that the recent disclosures do violence to a preconceived and cherished impression of Cowper's character; to the impression naturally received from his poetry. When Cowper first met with an extract from Dr. Johnson's Diary, he said to Newton, "It is certain that the publisher of it is neither much a friend to the cause of religion nor to the author's memory; for, by the specimen, it seems to contain only such stuff as has a direct tendency to expose both to ridicule." But Johnson's memory would suffer less from such irreverent exposure than his; for no such delightful idea of him had been received and bound to the heart, as Cowper has breathed from his rural walks, his winter evenings, his green-house, his occupations, and his friendships. It is not pretended, on any hand, that our knowledge of the mental diseases of either has lessened one jot our respect for their general intellectual vigor. But as a mere matter of sentiment, one is loth to have a sweet

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remembrance poisoned, and a love almost personal, wounded. Men may call such regrets as mawkish as they are unavailing, and contend that they are selfish and hostile to truth, and that the secluded poet, whose very last thought would have been to call the public eye to his hideous griefs, was no more entitled to forbearance than Byron, who was for ever thrusting his hates and wrongs and contempt, all that he felt or affected, upon the general notice. Still some will feel that irreverence has been offered to a great name, and that our moral delicacy and self-respect are liable to be blunted by the slightest indifference to the fair claims of the living or the dead, and that Cowper has so completely blended himself with his poetry, that the influence of his sentiments, and even of his descriptions, must be lessened, if the spirit we have always associated with them is no longer there in its original beauty.

But without dwelling on this point, let it be asked, whether indeed the cause of truth (that much abused plea for irresponsible violence) is aided, and Cowper more truly understood, and his life a more instructive one, because we now know every particular of his malady. Is his malady a plague that has infected his whole mind, so that we must take it with us in order to interpret and modify all that he says? There is nothing wrong in considering him as having a double existence, — a joyous and sane mood, that was as little disturbed by his insane tendency, as it was able to control or mitigate it. The clear, and the turbid waters, ran side by side without mingling. Nothing can be more distinct, than his mind when brooding over its sufferings and recounting them, and when surrendering itself to its natural humor and sympathies. Near the very time that he was giving to one friend the most heart-rending descriptions of his state, and with the same clearness and energy that marked his correspondence generally, he could write letters to others that were radiant with playfulness and wit, and full of good sense, changing their topics with the most graceful ease, and as sincere as the frolic of a child.

Both these views of Cowper ought undoubtedly to be exhibited. The letters to Newton ought to be placed in their proper connexion with the gayer ones to Unwin, and Lady Hesketh, and Rose. Nobody would mistake for an instant the true state of the case. We are not asking writers of lives to invent pleasing sketches of maniacs, but to see that their facts do not induce false judgments and impressions; to be

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prudent and discriminating in selecting their materials and in the position they give to objects. In the present case, the danger is that a minute history of insanity, preying upon a delicate and gifted mind, — the image, too, perpetually, urgently brought before us in fragments of confidential letters, and in the very heart of things most foreign to it, — will give a prevailing hue to our conception of the whole man ; that the haunting remembrance will ever be uppermost. In a life so uniform and inactive as his, the facts of his madness will be most like stirring incident, and of course draw more attention than the ordinary habits and employments which belong to his happier state, and to far the larger portion of his existence, and which accordingly are most indicative of what he really was. It will be well then, if we do not fancy a connexion far more intimate between his sanity and his disease, than actually existed in his own mind. This very Biography before us will probably leave more than the inevitable impression that Cowper was an afflicted man, with whom, however, we can for the most part sympathize in his distress as we do in his cheerfulness. There is so much of wretchedness and degradation to shock and repel, or, at best, to create a morbid interest, that the pleased and the true memory of him we once enjoyed may fade, and those who are yet to become acquainted with him may never obtain it. There will be more curiosity about his case, than perception and love of his character. "I could draw the picture of Despair," says he, "at any time ; I could delineate the country through which he travels, and describe his progress, could trace him from melancholy to rage, from rage to obduracy, and from obduracy to indifference about the event ; and this I could do in prose or verse with the greatest facility ; but to what good purpose ? Like Cibber's mad figures upon Bedlam gate, the representation might be allowed to be just, but if it were admired, would be so only in proportion as it shocked."

Some may doubt the evil effect of such minute details as we have deprecated, because his little circle of friends lost nothing of the beauty of his life by living with him and knowing all, even to the grossest forms of his malady, and themselves his keepers in the sanctuary of his home. If the rudest assaults upon their sympathy and respect harmed not the influence of his delightful qualities, why should we of another generation be thought to lose the spell of his healthy genius and

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his happy days by passing within the veil of his terrors and reading the secrets of his prison-house? Let it be considered, however, that personal intimacy with, and care of the sufferer, while it gives a definite character to his calamity, limits its power over the imagination; the reality is viewed and treated by itself, and the return to health and every symptom of health is regarded as his restoration to his true state, to what we love, to what made us watch with trembling through his hours of darkness, waiting for the day. We should not for a moment recall what was past, and connect every thought of our friend with the distresses and humiliation of his disease, while we were with him in his blest seasons of light, of alleviated pain, and of the free, generous exercise of his affections and powers. Knowing and feeling the truth in its precise extent, we cannot deceive ourselves, and we cannot exaggerate. He was dead, and is alive again. But, on the other hand, a mere reader of his Life cannot have, in equal degree, these sources of sympathy or these means of correction. He is to draw a picture for himself, of an entire stranger, by the aid of his imagination, from a history of a whole life crowded into a small space, where the good and the evil are in close connexion, and both present to his mind at once. He obtains his whole idea of him during a brief but strong exercise of this faculty, and not in the more temperate and gradual method by which the senses, however highly excited, conduct him to truth. And this idea once received, is established for ever; for with him there can be no years of intimacy to obliterate or modify it, and there can be no personal affection to give his happy recollections the predominance; and it is scarcely to be expected that a strong first impression will be much impaired by any subsequent reasoning upon the duty of discrimination.

We are not questioning here the general utility of a sound imagination to the right conception of facts, but offering a suggestion as to the kind of influence this faculty may exercise upon a reader of the history of Cowper's insanity.

But whatever were the motives or the imprudence of those who have brought this history to light; whether they sought to impair his authority on theological questions by showing that he was a madman, or to vindicate his particular theology from the reproach of having made him mad, or to set his peculiar religious opinions more fully before the reader; or

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whether they acted from a questionable idea of biographical fidelity, or a desire to make his story more captivating, and to exhibit some new view of his power in his calm and vigorous and most searching descriptions of his religious frenzy; or, idlest of all, to account for a supposed inconsistency between gloomy passages in his poems and his sprightly letters to his friends; it is too late to enter a complaint now. Mr. Sharp says to Dr. Southey, "The painful facts are so well known, that you must fairly tell the whole story of his derangement;" and our author has addressed himself diligently to his work.

With a number of difficult questions brought before him for judgment, Dr. Southey shows patience, fairness, and sagacity in informing himself of the truth, and making up his decision. He is evidently fond of his undertaking, and aware of the singular advantages not less than of the embarrassments of his subject, and desirous of enabling the reader to form a satisfactory opinion of the whole life of a man, who had been made a frequent topic of controversy, but never, it is believed, on any point connected with his genius, his moral character, his taste, or the popular influence of the books published by his own authority. The Biography is an elaborate, skilful mosaic, and more in this style than the author wished, for reasons stated in the Preface. Detached particulars are collected from Cowper's extensive correspondence, from his private narratives and notes, from the recollections of the living, from the papers of deceased relatives, and from contemporary biographies; and this variety of materials is wrought into a continuous narrative, requiring, no doubt, greater labor of comparison and selection than many an admiring reader will think of, and a steady activity of imagination to enable the relater of details to see and present something like a consistent whole, or preserve that natural unity which belongs to truth.

While we acknowledge the skill with which the work is put together, we perceive also signs of the care that was necessary to give it shape. Dr. Southey writes with the confidence of one who knows that he has made all safe, and yet not with the perfect ease of one who has gathered his knowledge of a man from intimacy and sympathy. He is seeking for truth in records, and not arranging the results of personal observation. He encounters difficulties which must be explained, and representations and opinions of others which need correction, and hence the work often has marks of a critical examination

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instead of unembarrassed narrative. Under the circumstances, all this was inevitable; and it is only surprising that what is strictly of an argumentative or speculative character should be introduced so easily and conducted so rapidly, as rather to fall in with the narrative than appear to be added to it, and that there is so well-connected a story where there was so much to break it in pieces.

We do not allude here to his setting apart certain portions of his work for the consideration of particular topics, connected with the literary history of Cowper's time; for instance, the ample notice of Churchill, and of Cowper's companions of the Nonsense Club. These are understood to be of the nature of episodes, and to have their privilege. But it is observable even of these and other digressions, — where the strict biography is interrupted for the sake of critical dissertations or summaries of literature, or to place before us passages in the literary history of the period that are little known, but important in connexion with the growth of Cowper's mind and the formation of his taste, and with his habits of life before and after he retired from the world, — that the main interest is far from being painfully broken, and the reader returns to the story with increased light thrown upon its progress, and grateful for the author's free use of his almost boundless information. Joined to these and other qualifications of a biographer, which place him in the first rank of this class of writers, is a calm, unaffected, transparent style, the result not merely of his mastery of English, but also of his possession of his subject, and a devotion to it as sincere as if he were preparing an account of himself. It is delightful to have a memoir of Cowper from one who resembles him in purity of diction and in simple elegance.

When the services of an editor and biographer, every way so competent to the business, had been secured, it would have been gratifying to add that we were at last put in possession of a complete edition of Cowper's writings. But the embarrassment of copy-right in different hands is not yet wholly removed. The reader will learn from the Preface that Dr. Southey, while he brings valuable additions to the former collection, is debarred from inserting entire an important series of letters already published.

Such a variety of topics is presented in the Life alone, that it seems advisable to set limits to the range of our remarks;

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and perhaps by dwelling chiefly on Cowper's personal character and private habits, we may give a clearer idea of him in every relation, than by any summary we could make of the Biography.

Cowper's natural temper was scarcely less remarkable than his genius, if indeed it can be considered as not making a part of it. A gentle, inoffensive disposition, averse to action, but in perfect harmony with vivacity of mind and gayety of spirits, seemed for a time to promise him a happy life of literary and social leisure. In a beautiful letter to Mrs. Bodham, thanking her for the present of his mother's picture, he says; "I was thought in the days of my childhood much to resemble my mother; and in my natural temper, of which at the age of fifty-eight I must be supposed to be a competent judge, can trace both her, and my late uncle, your father. Somewhat of his irritability; and a little, I would hope, both of his and her ——, I know not what to call it, without seeming to praise myself, which is not my intention, but speaking to *you*, I will even speak out, and say, *good nature*." Giving our own interpretation to his share of the family irritability, we read in this passage, what indeed is legible in his whole life, that his amiableness was not a weak or indolent passiveness; for he was alive to injuries, neglect, and ingratitude, and could express his resentments; not indeed querulously, as if he thought of himself more than of the wrong, but feelingly, like a man instinctively tender of the rights of another, and duly mindful of his own. It was not in his nature however to retain ill-will, or support the bearing of a proud man who remembers a wrong for the purpose of keeping up his dignity and vindicating his rights. Thurlow and Colman might neglect him in his retirement and incur his resentment; and his connexions, those whom he loved dearest, might separate themselves from him, because they could not sympathize with him in his religious sentiments. But his heart yearned towards them, and he delighted in the occasion, though at a distant day, of renewing his intimacy with them. Years of separation and silence had not impaired his memory of their looks and manner, or of those trifling incidents of their intercourse, which are generally the most strongly associated with old friendships, and most expressive of the terms on which people live.

To what but the charm of his disposition can we ascribe

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the affection he inspired in minds the most various and the most diversely occupied. It was not his sufferings that first bound them to him, nor sympathy with his religious opinions and experiences, nor homage to his genius, nor a wish to be known as familiar with an eminent man. Entire strangers, men of the world, Romanists and Protestants, females of apostolic sanctity buried in the shades of a country village, and females, the wittiest and most accomplished, from the capital; Hayley, in the splendor of his fame; Rose, a youth just from College; and Hill, loaded with the business of his office, are all drawn alike to the recluse at Olney and Weston Lodge. The spot is not visited because of its celebrity; the visits make no noise in the journals, and probably would not now be known but for his description of them in his familiar letters. Some of his most valued friends discovered him by accident; and though they might well deem it the great event of their lives, they could scarcely dream that the terms on which they lived with him were to associate their names with his for ever. Before he was at all known as a writer, and when long sequestration had made him as one dead and out of mind to the intimates of his youth and early manhood, the same charm had won him friends, which secured those who visited him in the days of his far-spread fame.

So far from courting attention himself, his excessive shyness made him apprehensive at the approach of a stranger, and even of his dearest friend after long separation; and though dependent upon society, he wished it small and of the most domestic kind. But when the countenance beamed upon him or the voice was heard that harmonized with his spirit, let it happen ever so casually, his heart opened to them, and confidence was given and established. The ways in which his friends showed their devotedness are deserving of the particular notice which Dr. Southey has taken of them, for they are tokens of their character and of his; and in many points they are illustrative of his habits, taste, and circumstances. Sometimes these offices were imprudent and exceedingly injurious, but they were not the less affectionate and well intended. We cannot but observe in almost every case how unpretending and considerate are the attentions he received. Mrs. Unwin's maternal devotion of her life to him, and the prudence and overflowing tenderness of Lady Hesketh's care, call for higher language. We refer to humbler

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services; to the charge taken of his little property by an early and constant friend, while others, who had a right to confer such a favor, are engaged to make up any deficiency. A neighbour offers him the free use of his grounds for his retired walks, where none shall intrude upon him. Delicacies are constantly sent to him from the seashore; seeds and plants are remembered in season for his garden; some are urging him to write, and proposing subjects, and transcribing his verses, and others are finding him a better residence, and furnishing his study, or tempting him to journey. Take his years of illness and health together, and his life seems to be one continued reception of kindness, and his poetry, the fruit and return of friendship.

We may see in this nothing but proofs of his helplessness and their compassion. But does mere helplessness draw forth such various and cheerful service, and from strangers? It would be wrong, however, to speak of Cowper as a mere burden to others, or, at best, as rewarding their care with his letters only, or his muse, or his conversation. He was far from being wholly inactive, though his power was every way small to serve a friend or the people of the village. He was in no respect a selfish man, though with every temptation to become one. It is particularly to our purpose here, to name his devotion to Mrs. Unwin in the feebleness of her old age. It forms one of the most affecting passages in his own or in any life; and to feel all its beauty and sadness, we should read every particular of their long intimacy. He had been as dependent upon her as a sick child, and had contemplated the possibility of her death with a childlike dread of desertion. And when he saw her mind, which had been his guardian and cheering light, failing, and the support and even the restraint of religious principle growing feeble with her own weakness; when he saw her, whose charge he had been, now impatiently exacting attentions from him, which his depression at her changed state, and his common infirmities, made it next to impossible that he should render; though himself old, he went to her with a child's love, and in his turn gave himself wholly to her comfort. "I cannot," he says, "sit with my pen in my hand and my books before me, while she is in effect in solitude, silent, and looking at the fire." His strength sunk under his care of her and the absence of his customary supports. A mournful scene follows of impotent

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devotedness, and then of humiliation and misery till death. Let us return to the days of his happier intercourse with his friends.

How unlike it is to the intercourse we commonly read of, between a distinguished writer and his circle of courtiers, or to what usually passes during the calls of a traveller upon a celebrated author. It was altogether domestic and affectionate, and full of simplicity and ease. There is no flattery on one side, and no imperiousness or vanity on the other. The noble and wealthy come without ostentation, and the humblest friend is never reminded of his inferiority. His letters give many beautiful pictures of his social habits and pleasures. We see in them, as if present, the manner in which he and his friends lived together. And it must be remembered that his conversation had all the playfulness and good sense and natural variety of the letters. He was essentially the same man in his conversation and his writings. He did not reserve a part of himself for the public; but all that we call his genius ran easily into homely, familiar use. There is no reason to think that those who were most intimate with him were at all surprised, when, past middle life, he produced his first great poems; so perfectly was all he wrote an image of himself as they familiarly knew him. And if we have a feeling of home in the mere reading of his poetry, how must they have enjoyed it, who, day after day, in summer walks or by the evening fire, lived in the presence of his purity, good humor, and beautiful fancy.

His occupations, or, as he would call them, his amusements, are illustrative of his temper. We allude especially to those of the ten or twelve years after his recovery from the second and lengthened attack of his malady. For a time his health required constant exercise and employment in the open air; and his occupations denote the simplicity of his taste, and his readiness, which he never lost but when overpowered by disease, to do any thing that was blameless, which might give him strength and turn his thoughts from madness. He never had recourse to false stimulants, nor to the relief of sullen despair. Cut off for a season from reading and mental exertion of every kind, he was content with the care of plants and a vegetable garden, or with taming hares. He says, "from thirty-three to sixty I have spent my time in the country, where my reading has been only an apology for idleness, and

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where, when I had not either a magazine or a review, I was sometimes a carpenter, at others a bird-cage maker, or a gardener, or a drawer of landscapes." No matter how little the object, if it served to amuse him. As he says in another letter; "I delight in baubles, and know them to be so. I am pleased with a frame of four lights, doubtful whether the few pines it contains will ever be worth a farthing; amuse myself with a greenhouse, which Lord Bute's gardener could take upon his back and walk away with; and when I have paid it the accustomed visit, and watered it and given it air, I say to myself, 'this is not mine; 't is a plaything lent me for the present; I must leave it soon.' "

And then what an amusing importance does he give to his turning the greenhouse into a summer retreat.

"I might date my letter from the greenhouse, which we have converted into a summer parlour. The walls hung with garden mats, and the floor covered with a carpet, the sun too in a great measure excluded, by an awning of mats which forbids him to shine anywhere except upon the carpet, it affords us by far the pleasantest retreat in Olney. We eat, drink, and sleep where we always did; but here we spend all the rest of our time; and find that the sound of the wind in the trees, and the singing of birds, are much more agreeable to our ears than the incessant barking of dogs and screaming of children. It is an observation that naturally occurs upon the occasion, and which many other occasions furnish an opportunity to make, that people long for what they have not, and overlook the good in their possession. This is so true in the present instance, that for years past I should have thought myself happy to enjoy a retirement even less flattering to my natural taste, than this in which I am now writing; and have often looked wistfully at a snug cottage, which, on account of its situation at a distance from noise and disagreeable objects, seemed to promise me all I could wish or expect, so far as happiness may be said to be local; never once adverting to this comfortable nook, which affords me all that could be found in the most sequestered hermitage, with the advantage of having all those accommodations near at hand, which no hermitage could possibly afford me."

It was for occupation's sake that he betook himself to poetry. "At fifty years of age I commenced an author. It is a whim that has served me longest and best, and will probably be my last." He delighted in the most laborious exercises of

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his art, in the revision of single verses and of whole poems again and again, to make all as perfect as possible ; and when a book was once carried through the press, he felt that he had parted with a summer and winter friend, a patient soother that was ever ready at his call. The labor to which he regularly subjected himself, though probably far greater than some poets of "more mercurial powers" have endured for an equal fame, seems to us as nothing, because we regard it as the prudent remedy or solace of a diseased mind, and as a part of the arrangement of his daily life. If it answered its immediate purpose, there was time enough to think of the sensation he might produce abroad, or of the celebrity he was actually winning.

The period of life, and the circumstances of Cowper's first great poetical effort, deserve attention. At the age of thirty-two, we find him a man of letters in London, fond of classical studies and of the society of wits, by profession a lawyer, and properly an idler. Thus far he has published nothing that foretells the author of "John Gilpin," "Yardley Oak," and "The Task." Then follow nearly two years of insanity and despondency, during far the larger part of which he was under the care of Dr. Cotton, till his recovery in 1765. According to Dr. Southey, Cowper may be said to have been first introduced to the public as a poet by the "Olney Hymns," which were not published till 1779. His contributions to this collection had been made at a much earlier date, but the publication had been delayed by another access of madness, which lasted several years ; and it is not till the close of 1780, when he was bordering on fifty, that he undertook any considerable work. It seems, that on his last recovery, Mrs. Unwin urged him to give his thoughts to poetry, and to a poem of some extent ; and proposed for a subject the Progress of Error. His mind was first directed and kindled to a great achievement, after its recovery from a longer, if not severer attack, than he ever suffered till its final obscuration ; at a time of life too when we commonly expect no new developement of power, and at the instance of the faithful woman who had been his nurse and guardian through this scene of woe. He was living in a retired spot, where the calls and influences of society could not easily reach him, and where the power of habitual indolence, and of exemption from ordinary cares, had every means of fatally establishing itself. His recovery, too, had not been

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entire, for he was never wholly relieved from the delusion which took possession of his mind during this illness. And yet now he first wakes to a sense of his resources and strength, and enters upon his great poetical career. We cannot receive the superstition that insanity is allied to inspiration, and thence conjecture that some mysterious accession of power was going on in this dreadful repose of the mind. All that we perceive is, that he is more judiciously treated by his friends, and that a more happy direction is given to his faculties, than when he was wasting life in the frivolities of London, or was absorbed in his scarcely less hurtful religious excesses at Olney.

His attachment to a country life was formed early. He had enjoyed the city, and lived on equal terms with many distinguished young men whom he associated with there; and he had been driven from the town, and from all general intercourse with society, by his calamity. But in his healthiest state, he was most in his element in a quiet seclusion. What is commonly called a life of action was not only revolting to his taste, but he probably could never have forced himself into a successful prosecution of any of its callings, by any strength of principle or exercise of self-discipline. He says, he had never been able to conjecture what nature expressly designed him for, so universally disqualified did he seem to himself for the common and customary occupations and amusements of mankind; and he was probably nearer the truth in this, than when, speaking to Rose of his own wasted years in an attorney's office and at the Temple, he says:

"Had I employed my time as wisely as you, I had never been a poet perhaps, but I might by this time have acquired a character of more importance in society, and a situation in which my friends would have been better pleased to see me. The only use I can make of myself now, at least the best, is to serve *in terrorem* to others, that they may escape my folly and my fate."

Men may be expected to take different views of themselves at different seasons, according to the present weight of a particular motive or state of mind. When Cowper says, that God had given him "an unambitious mind, content in the low vale of life," we believe that he partly erred; for he had ambition, and he acknowledges it as freely as in other

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places he avows his apathy to fame. See what he says on this point to Lady Hesketh.

"I am not ashamed to confess, that having commenced an author, I am most abundantly desirous to succeed as such. *I have (what perhaps you little suspect me of) in my nature an infinite share of ambition.* But with it, I have, at the same time, as you well know, an equal share of diffidence. To this combination of opposite qualities it has been owing that, till lately, I stole through life without undertaking any thing, yet always wishing to distinguish myself. At last I ventured, ventured too in the only path, that at so late a period was yet open to me; and am determined, if God have not determined otherwise, to work my way through the obscurity that has been so long my portion, into notice. Every thing, therefore, that seems to threaten this my favorite purpose with disappointment, affects me nearly."

But whenever he refers to rural life, the tone, we believe, is always the same. The contemplation is a happy one, as if he again felt his first-breathed atmosphere, and the presence of his native prospects. He was indeed scourged thither; and so the tempest may drive us to port, and afflictions, to Heaven's light. Read his beautiful confession.

"The country wins me still:
I never framed a wish, or formed a plan,
That flattered me with hopes of earthly bliss,
But there I laid the scene. There early strayed
My fancy, ere yet liberty of choice
Had found me, or the hope of being free.
My very dreams were rural; rural too
The first-born efforts of my youthful muse."

Task, Book IV.

With such love of the country, and its influence being always most favorable to his health and a sound activity of his mind, his poetry would naturally turn much on rural topics. In addition to this, he wanted to make the inhabitants of large towns aware of their privations and evils, and come out to inhale a purer life, in the quiet and verdure, and amidst the sounds and employments of farms and villages and woods, and the border of inland streams. His descriptions of these have been his most popular compositions; not however because they present truer pictures of his mind, or, in general, juster views of things, than are to be found in those of

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his poems which are more strictly occupied with man; nor because there is less nerve and variety in the latter. But in describing natural scenes, he had the advantage of a subject which was likely to excite sympathy, and raise agreeable images and trains of thought in all. Even those who knew the least of the matter, had yet wants ungratified, and such as they might for the first time be made distinctly acquainted with by a strain of music, or a painting, or a poetical description of nature. And though they still lived on in crowded cities, they could dream with delight upon the new conceptions which were thus formed in their imaginations. What would particularly recommend such topics to Cowper, was the conviction that moral and religious truths could be more powerfully urged, if they were interwoven with images, that were both in beautiful accord with them, and naturally agreeable to all minds. And he could anticipate their general good influence from what he knew of himself. He knew the charm which the contemplation of such scenes, and the description of familiar objects in a life of rural seclusion, could exercise over the most afflicted mind. He rested upon the pure bosom of the earth, as if it were a mother's. From his safe retreat he saw men at a distance, and was less disturbed by their hot contentions. The strain of his poetry grew more in sympathy with the generality of readers. There was more sweetness in his devotional sentiments. Though at times his satire and denunciations and expostulations are withering, yet how frequent are the intervals of serene contemplations of nature, and of the breathings of spiritual peace, as if he could not escape the soothing tone of his general subject, and wished others to feel it with him.

Dr. Southey thinks, that the humble and quiet scenery to which Cowper was accustomed, was peculiarly suited to his disposition, and to the spirit of his most characteristic poem, "The Task." We apprehend, however, that the calm and domestic air of his finest descriptions, is owing in part to a natural turn of mind, which would have shown itself, even if he had been placed in a wild and picturesque country. He would not have sought chiefly those points in a prospect which are most apt to create wonder, but those which he could subdue to his fancy and common feelings, and which would wear best as old acquaintance. He would scarcely have busied himself with making grand pictures, merely

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because the materials were ready at hand. He would not describe an object for its own sake, but simply because it had become a companion and image of his ordinary thoughts. And with his ingenious fancy and thoughtful humor, he would find such objects on the ocean side, or amongst mountains, as well as on "the sandy flats of Buckinghamshire." He expresses, however, a different opinion in a letter from Eartham; but it was written when he was longing for the shelter of his home, and the renewal of habits that were become necessary to his happiness.

"More beautiful scenery I have never beheld, nor expect to behold; but the charms of it, uncommon as they are, have not in the least alienated my affections from Weston. The genius of that place suits me better; it has an air of snug concealment, in which a disposition like mine feels peculiarly gratified; whereas here, I see from every window woods like forests, and hills like mountains; a wildness in short that increases my natural melancholy."

Cowper's religious history and character are now so associated with certain points of belief, and with his dreams of madness, that the sweetness and beauty of his devotional spirit are in danger of being overlooked or indistinctly conceived. His early discovered and profound feeling of God was the terror as well as the solace of his boyhood; and afterwards, upon the fuller developement of his constitutional tendency, it allied itself to his mental disease, to inspire him with perilous raptures, or plunge him in depths of woe to which sin alone might seem doomed. Still the devout feeling breaks forth from the clouds and fires that environ it. And how submissive is it, and filial, and dependent. God is the nearest being he knows; the only being. To be separated from him, is to lose all good, and life would be a terror. Nature is filled with his presence; life is his constant power; events are his permission or command. Even behind the darkness, and when despair is on every side, God's mysterious agency is as real to him, as when he rejoiced in the light of his countenance. His delusion cannot impair his benevolence or sense of duty; and were it not for compassion and grief, we should feel that it gave them even a sublime character. He alone is shut out from mercy; and, himself a castaway, he yet preaches to others, deeming it the appointment of Providence that

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he should labor for them, though no longer permitted to do any thing for himself. Shall we say that he is equally insane in either conviction? Why not rather, that faith had power to subdue selfishness, and in a degree to control madness?

He tells his friends, that he mingles pleasantry with his seriousness, that his writings may have attraction for the worldly and inconsiderate. It is more probable that the humor came naturally, and was fearlessly indulged because a consciousness of right intention, and an almost instinctive good taste, assured him that he should never fall into unseasonable levity. And if his views of human life are often dark, and his remonstrances severe, we need not ascribe this to his malady, for they were so in his brightest days. The prophet of old went not with pleasant minstrelsy to his idolatrous countrymen. A mind in the highest sense spiritual, absorbed in religious feelings, and believing that men generally are content to be slaves to what is present and perishable, would be mad indeed or worse, if it feared to employ words and arguments and images that would break their slumber, however those might be offended who would not be made free. Cowper is never soured with the world, but amazed and afflicted at its blindness.

It is admitted that there is often an air of exaggeration when he speaks of spiritual subjects and of sin, which is not to be observed in his descriptions of outward objects, or when he draws a moral lesson from some simple occurrences that fall under his notice. This must always be expected (even in minds far better strung and regulated than his) whenever they are strongly impelled by a generous purpose and an exalted feeling. The overstatement is not falsely hyperbolical; a cold inflation of a common matter. It is running beyond the bounds from excessive eagerness. And it cannot be denied, that in such cases the extravagance often places the truth in the only light to affect the mass; or perhaps more properly, their minds could be animated in no other way to see, in its full force and verity, what to the more apprehensive and thoughtful writer is instantly visible in its whole importance. Cowper never exaggerates in the sense of telling what he does not feel. He has long felt it. He has dwelt upon it perhaps till his views have grown morbid. There is no mark of sudden impulse or vexation, however wrong the judgment may be. He is thoroughly sincere in the condemnation he

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passes upon his own course of life in London, and in arraigning a corrupt clergy, and public and private offenders of any class.

It is remarkable that when relating mere matters of fact, let them be of the most exciting kind, (for instance, in his Narrative of what occurred during his first attack of insanity,) the statements are as clear and simple and low-pitched, as if he were speaking of ordinary topics. We doubt whether many strangers could tell the story, half so deliberately and distinctly. So in the letters which describe his sufferings, a temperate tone seems to be borrowed from his very despair; and, as if despair had made him disinterested in the contemplation of his own case, he shuns not to relate every thing, as far, at least, as language can go. He does not, however, press his griefs upon others, nor ask for sympathy, nor betray egotism, as if he were vain of his peculiar affliction. He does not return to the subject from habit, nor does the lapse of time, or frequent recurrence to it, lessen its weight and power. Year after year the description is equally fresh and vigorous, and though the language and images vary, yet the strain is always the same. Let us read one or two passages from his letters to Newton.

"The weather is an exact emblem of my mind in its present state. A thick fog envelopes every thing, and at the same time it freezes intensely. You will tell me that this cold gloom will be succeeded by a cheerful spring, and endeavour to encourage me to hope for a spiritual change resembling it; but it will be lost labor. Nature revives again; but a soul once slain lives no more. The hedge that has been apparently dead, is not so; it will burst into leaf and blossom at the appointed time; but no such time is appointed for the stake that stands in it. It is as dead as it seems, and will prove itself no dissembler."

"I have been lately more dejected and more distressed than usual; more harrassed by dreams in the night, and more deeply poisoned by them in the following day. I know not what is portended by an alteration for the worse, after eleven years of misery. I now see a long winter before me, and am to get through it as I can. I know the ground, before I tread upon it. It is hollow, it is agitated, it suffers shocks in every direction; it is like the soil of Calabria, all whirlpool and undulation. But I must reel through it; at least, if I be not swallowed up by the way."

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"My experiences have this belonging to them: that, as they are not fit for recital, being made up merely of infernal ingredients, so neither are they susceptible of it; for I know no language in which they could be expressed. They are as truly things which it is not possible for man to utter, as those were which Paul heard and saw in the third heaven. If the ladder of Christian experience reaches, as I suppose it does, to the very presence of God, it has nevertheless its foot in the abyss. And if Paul stood, as no doubt he did, in that experience of his to which I have just alluded, on the topmost round of it, I have been standing and still stand on the lowest, in this thirteenth year that has passed since I descended. In such a situation of mind, encompassed by the midnight of absolute despair, and a thousand times filled with unspeakable horror, I first commenced an author. Distress drove me to it; and the impossibility of subsisting without some employment, still recommends it. I am not indeed so perfectly hopeless, as I was; but I am equally in need of an occupation, being often as much and sometimes even more worried than ever. I cannot amuse myself as I once could with carpenters' or with gardeners' tools, or with squirrels and Guinea-pigs. At that time I was a child. But since it has pleased God, whatever else he withholds, to restore to me a man's mind, I have put away childish things. Thus far, therefore, it is plain that I have not chosen or prescribed to myself my own way, but have been providentially led to it; perhaps I might say with equal propriety, compelled and scourged into it; for certainly could I have made my choice, or were I permitted to make it even now, those hours which I spend in poetry I would spend with God."

One important and regular occupation of Cowper's better years, was letter-writing; genuine letter-writing too, of the most familiar kind, in a correspondence with the nearest friends, and growing out of present occurrences, impressions, and exigencies. The Letters may be considered in several points of view. In the first place, they give us the best possible account of the writer. They take up nearly all the ground of an avowed Biographer, with the advantage of not doing it on purpose. Where there is any perceptible chasm in the correspondence, there was also a blank, or nearly so, in his mind and history. With the aid of a few notes, the Letters would leave little else to be required for a satisfactory view of his life; such an impression is there of completeness in the information. They are full of him, either as they show

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his character in every aspect, or his common experience from day to day, or his opinions on recent and indeed on any topics, his estimate of literary obligations, and of the connexion between an author and his reader; or, in fine, as they answer almost every inquiry that could be raised from reading his works generally, from reading the letters themselves, or the accounts of him that have been furnished by others. It may be proper to add, that to understand the value of the Letters in a biographical view, or indeed in any other, they should be read in their order and read through. Such scattered fragments as we find in the Life answer the immediate purpose very well, but give a very inadequate idea of the correspondence.

The simple, the precisely stated facts of his early life are few, though no doubt as numerous as ought to be expected. But he has contrived, by his manner of referring to this period in his letters, to fill it out and make it singularly beautiful and interesting. We cannot say very distinctly what this manner is. Certainly, indefinite allusions, such as his old acquaintance would fully understand, are not likely to give *us* what we call information. Dim regrets, laughing recollections, and indications on every hand, that while he seems absolutely to live in the past, the present is still in and about him, that he is himself a changed man and yet touched as of old, and even more, by revisiting his former haunts, — all these marks of truth and helps to truth would be every thing in the eye of the friend he was writing to. But why is it that they affect *us* so deeply and familiarly? Without any orderly narrative, without notes to fill up or clear up, all appears luminous, real, present, and entire. And it is all delightful, both for the truth, and the way the truth falls from him; the broken, incidental way; the absence of all thought of making a dream of boyhood or a choice of its beauties. His feelings illuminate his hints, and they swell into scenes. By knowing his spirit, we are able to interpret, to complete and make real. *We* too were with him at school, at the club, and in Southampton Row, and we are now talking together of our old times and former selves.

But whatever be the topic, and whether of former or present days, he runs on with freedom and lightness; there is not the least appearance of keeping a Diary or rendering an account; and no pressure of responsibleness, not even from the

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necessity of getting something ready when he has nothing to say. He takes this very easily; far more easily than Sterne, who says that he made half a dozen different beginnings to say nothing, and could no way please himself. Cowper enters upon the vacuity in the highest spirits. The want of a topic seems to be the best state of things possible to begin a letter. He is "put to entreaty, and there begins new matter." The whole case we are now considering is stated in a letter to Unwin.

"You like to hear from me; this is a very good reason why I should write. But I have nothing to say; this seems equally a good reason why I should not. Yet if you had alighted from your horse at our door this morning, and at this present writing, being five o'clock in the afternoon, had found occasion to say to me, — 'Mr. Cowper, you have not spoke since I came in; have you resolved never to speak again?' it would be but a poor reply, if in answer to the summons I should plead inability as my best and only excuse. And this by the way suggests to me a seasonable piece of instruction, and reminds me of what I am very apt to forget, when I have any epistolary business in hand, that a letter may be written upon any thing or nothing, just as that any thing or nothing happens to occur. A man that has a journey before him twenty miles in length, which he is to perform on foot, will not hesitate and doubt whether he shall set out or not, because he does not readily conceive how he shall ever reach the end of it; for he knows, that by the simple operation of moving one foot forward first, and then the other, he shall be sure to accomplish it. So it is in the present case, and so it is in every similar case. A letter is written as a conversation is maintained, or a journey performed; not by preconcerted or premeditated means, a new contrivance, or an invention never heard of before, but merely by maintaining a progress, and resolving as a postilion does, having once set out, never to stop till we reach the appointed end. If a man may talk without thinking, why may he not write upon the same terms? A grave gentleman of the last century, a tie-wig, square-toe, Steinkirk figure, would say, 'My good sir, a man has no right to do either.' But it is to be hoped that the present century has nothing to do with the mouldy opinions of the last; and so, good Sir Launcelot, or Sir Paul, or whatever be your name, step into your picture frame again, and look as if you thought for another century, and leave us moderns in the mean time to think when we can, and to write whether we can or not, else we might as well be dead as you are."

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Cowper makes it almost a condition of the correspondence, that he may "scribble away and write his uppermost thoughts, and those only." But these sudden products of his mind bear marks of more than its activity. He can trifle and gossip; and little things have their uses, if a man have the wit or philosophy to find them out. Horace Walpole raised gossip very near to the dignity of a fine art, and could set off sober wisdom the better in a crowd of vanities. With him, however, letter-writing seems to be a profession; while with Cowper, who probably gave to it as much of his time, it commonly has the ease and lightness of something called forth by a pleasing accident; and the riches and variety of his mind would have been far less known but for this sort of irresponsible exercise. And though a letter be gloomy throughout, or one of grave advice, or sympathy, or criticism, or occupied wholly with his literary engagements, the freedom and despatch are equally visible. If heavy spirits and a reluctant genius compel him to make efforts, he tells us how it is with him, or we should suspect nothing of the matter, so soon does the exertion create facility.

As to literary merits, the better opinion seems to be that a letter should have none, or at least none which are susceptible of being critically defined. Walpole says, he hates what is called a good letter. Cowper observes, that West's Letters are "elegant and sensible, but have nothing in them that is characteristic, or that discriminates them from the letters of any other young man of taste and learning." Of course the elegance goes for very little. Upon hearing that his own letters had been praised by Unwin for being "entertaining and clever, and so forth," he makes a remonstrance which shows that he thought there must be something wrong in a letter that sought or received admiration.

"I found this consequence attending, or likely to attend the eulogium you bestowed; if my friend thought me witty before, he shall think me ten times more witty hereafter; where I joked once, I will joke five times, and for one sensible remark I will send him a dozen. Now this foolish vanity would have spoiled me quite, and would have made me as disgusting a letter-writer as Pope, who seems to have thought that unless a sentence was well turned, and every period pointed with some conceit, it was not worth the carriage. Accordingly, he is to me, except in very few instances, the most disagreeable maker of epistles that ever I met with."

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To say that his letters have every property of good style which is suitable for such compositions, and yet that they have no style at all, might be deemed (however near the truth) an affected mode of expression; so that we are tempted to specify a few particulars; for instance, the purity of his diction, and the consummate grace and dexterity with which he uses the language. There is a music in the arrangement, which is felt as much, and observed as little, as a pleasant voice in conversation. The sentence takes its shape from the matter, and the manner varies with the topic or feeling, or the party addressed. In short, here is perfect English composition, in its kind, and a reigning harmony; and the result is, that a body of familiar letters, in the first copy, has passed into English libraries as a monument of prose, and an established classic unequalled in its own department.

It is agreeable to know that Cowper found relief and amusement in his part of the correspondence. It was more to him than an exercise and expression of his love, and was rewarded with more than a grateful reply. We may see the diversion it afforded him, in one striking characteristic of the Letters; we mean the unexpected turn he gives to common things, and usually a playful one. The grotesque is delicately applied to raise and set off a very simple matter. The comic and serious are so mixed as to have the effect, with seemingly no purpose, of irony. He is evidently amused himself; but to all appearance he is entertained with something he has discovered in the thing he is describing, and not with the whimsical conceits it has suggested. It was of great moment to his happiness, that his fancy should be easily directed to objects that would make it active without producing strong emotion; and he seems to have so trained it to his service, that he could go to it for relief in his dejection as hopefully as another might have recourse to music. In the milder states of his melancholy, his strange and diverting fancies came forth, like the day-spring, to mingle with and scatter the throng of shadows. But sometimes he wrote his merriest pieces under the influence of despair itself, as if it were the inspiring power, and the flashes and floods had waited till the cloud were thickest. How much of real joy there was in such a revel, is hidden. Madness, we may suppose, has many alleviations of which we know nothing; and Dr. Southey has suggested one in the case of Cowper, which

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though foreign to that we have just spoken of, may have a place here.

"Our retrospect of any individual's history is colored by the fortune of his latter days, as a drama takes its character from the catastrophe. A melancholy sentiment will always for this reason prevail, when Cowper is thought of. But though his disease of mind settled at last into the deepest shade, and ended in the very blackness of darkness, it is not less certain that before it reached that point, it allowed him many years of moral and intellectual enjoyment. They who have had most opportunity of observing and studying madness in all its mysterious forms, and in all its stages, know that the same degree of mental suffering is not produced by imaginary causes of distress as by real ones. Violent emotions, and outbreaks of ungovernable anger are at times easily excited, but not anguish of mind, not that abiding grief which eats into the heart. The distress, even when the patient retains, like Cowper, the full use of reason upon all other points, is in this respect like that of a dream, — a dream, indeed, from which the sufferer can neither wake nor be awakened; but it pierces no deeper, and there seems to be the same dim consciousness of its unreality." — Vol. II. p. 70.

We will close with one more extract from the Life, that is not without a cheering influence, though its tone is melancholy.

"Happily there was nothing irksome in any of the business to which he was called. His correspondence, — except only when, upon writing to Mr. Newton, and to him alone, the consciousness of his malady arose in his mind, —was purely pleasurable. He had his own affliction, and that was of the heaviest kind; but from the ordinary cares and sorrows of life no man was ever more completely exempted. All his connexions were prosperous. Mr. Unwin was the only friend, whose longer life must have appeared desirable, of whom death bereaved him. From the time when in the prime of manhood he was rendered helpless, he was provided for by others; that Providence which feeds the ravens raised up one person after another to minister unto him. Mrs. Unwin was to him as a mother; Lady Hesketh as a sister; and when he lost in Unwin one who had been to him as a brother, young men, as has already been seen, in the instance of Rose, supplied that loss with almost filial affection. Sad as his story is, it is not altogether mournful; he had never to complain of injustice, nor of injuries, nor even of neglect. Man had no part in bringing on his calamity; and to

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that very calamity which made him 'leave the herd' like 'a stricken deer,' it was owing that the genius which has consecrated his name, which has made him the most popular poet of his age, and secures that popularity from fading away, was developed in retirement; it would have been blighted had he continued in the course for which he was trained up. He would not have found the way to fame, unless he had missed the way to fortune. He might have been happier in his generation; but he could never have been so useful; with that generation his memory would have passed away, and he would have slept with his fathers, instead of living with those who are the glory of their country and the benefactors of their kind."—Vol. II. p. 313.

ART. IV. — 1. *Historical and Scientific Sketches of Michigan, comprising a Series of Discourses delivered before the Historical Society of Michigan, and other interesting Papers relative to the Territory.* Detroit. 1834. 12mo. pp. 215.

2. *Constitution of the State of Michigan, as adopted in Convention begun and held at the Capitol in the City of Detroit, on Monday the 11th day of May, A. D.* 1835. Detroit. 1835. 8vo. pp. 20.

THE late rapid growth of Michigan in population and importance; the extent of recent speculations in land within its limits; the collisions in which it has been engaged with the great bordering State of Ohio; and its peculiar actual position in relation to the Federal Union, are circumstances naturally creating a strong interest in its statistics and history.

Michigan is a peninsula of triangular shape, occupying what may be denominated the maritime frontier of the old Northwestern territory. Its southeastern point is about 300 miles from the city of Buffalo, in the State of New York, which stands at the eastern extremity of Lake Erie. It is bounded on the north by the connected waters of Lakes Huron and Michigan, on the west by Lake Michigan, and on the south by the States of Indiana and Ohio. Lake Erie, Detroit river, Lake St. Clair, and the river of the same name, constitute its

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eastern boundary, for the space of about 140 miles; after which this boundary is continued northward by Lake Huron. The area of the State comprises about 40,000 square miles, and its population at the present time is estimated at 125,000.

The general surface of the territory is comparatively level, having no mountains of any considerable elevation. In many points, however, the soil is gently undulating, particularly as you advance from the shores of the surrounding Lakes. Precipitous bluffs may be found along the border of Lake Huron; and numerous sand hills, which have been doubtless blown up by the winds of that Lake, may be discovered upon the eastern shore of Lake Michigan. Much of the land along the shore of Lakes Erie, Huron, and St. Clair, is low, level, and heavily timbered. The interior is more hilly, and consists of extensive tracts of good timber, alternated by plains, prairies, and oak openings. These plains are timbered soil, destitute of undergrowth; and the oak openings are constituted of large timber scattered over the surface in groves, but in sufficient quantities, ordinarily, for farming purposes. The soil of this species of land, although easily cleared by a team of four or five oxen, and favorable to the production of wheat, is not deemed so fertile and durable, as those sections which are more heavily timbered. The prairies are vast plains, destitute of forest, and covered with a long and coarse grass, which is occasionally cleared off by the autumnal *burnings*. They are either wet or dry. The dry prairies produce most of the crops which are common to 42 degrees of north latitude, and they are especially productive on the borders of the St. Joseph River. The wet prairies afford good pasturage, and coarse hay for winter stock; and by draining, may be reclaimed into valuable meadow land.

Michigan abounds also in rivers and small streams, which rise in the interior and flow into the neighbouring Lakes. The northern tributaries of the Maumee river, a stream of much importance as the outlet of a wide and rich back country, spring from this State, and joining the main stream, which rises in Ohio, discharge their waters into Lake Erie, at the point of junction between the States of Michigan and Ohio. The river Rouge enters Detroit river just below Detroit. Grand River is the largest stream in Michigan. It is 270 miles in length, has 8 feet of water on its bar, and at its mouth is between 50 and 60 rods broad. The soil which borders it

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is extremely fertile. A project has been started to connect it with the Huron, and, by this agency, to open a direct line of communication between Lake Erie and Lake Michigan. The St. Joseph river, with its tributary streams, waters a fertile tract of territory, and is deemed to afford eligible points for settlement along its banks. Besides the larger rivers, which we have mentioned, there are numerous smaller streams not navigable, which afford advantageous sites for manufactories; and lakes abounding with fish are scattered through the forest, some marshy and unhealthy, others clear as crystal, watering shores of pebble and sand.

A number of projects for internal improvement are now under consideration, upon a scale of great magnitude. A survey has been made for a railroad across the peninsula, from Detroit, through the several counties of Wayne, Washtenaw, Jackson, Calhoun, Kalamazoo, Van Buren, and Berrian, to the mouth of St. Joseph river; and also for a railroad from the mouth of the Maumee river, through the southern counties of Michigan and the northern part of Indiana, terminating at Michigan City, which stands upon the south-eastern shore of Lake Michigan. A canal has also been projected, from the mouth of the Maumee Bay, to the shore of Lake Michigan. There is little doubt but that some, if not all, of these schemes will be carried into effect, as capital flows into the country, and as its resources are gradually developed. The configuration of the land is eminently adapted to the construction of canals and railroads, as it is generally level, and easy of excavation, from the loamy nature of the soil and the absence of rocks.

The soil of Michigan is highly fertile, although of diversified character. The different varieties of gravel, black sand, loam, and clay, may be found in the different sections of the State, but the greater part is productive. It is in fact found to be much more valuable, than was formerly imagined, from its light and sandy appearance in many parts of the State. By actual experiment it is ascertained, that the greater portion improves by cultivation, and, in point of fertility, is equal to that of any of the northwestern States, affording products common to 42 degrees of north latitude. The bottoms and thickly-timbered parts of the country are covered usually with a black mould, which has doubtless been formed by the accumulation of vegetable matter, the deposit of forests, which

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have been successively decaying and fertilizing the soil for ages. Valuable lead mines have been discovered within the boundaries of Michigan, at its junction with the State of Illinois. In some parts of the State, iron and salt have also been discovered, but their value has not been accurately determined. It is believed, however, that the country abounds less in mineral than in agricultural wealth.

The public lands of Michigan were first surveyed in 1816 or 1817; and in the succeeding year they were offered in the market for sale, under the authority of the national government. From that period the rapid advance of the territory may be dated, on account of the emigration which the sale of these lands encouraged. The public domain of the territory is surveyed into townships of six miles square ; these are subdivided into sections, each one mile square ; and the number of the sections is always blazed upon the trees by the surveyor, at the corner of the sections respectively, in numerical order, commencing at the northeast corner of each township. *Blazing* is performed by shaving off a certain space upon the bark of the tree, and by cutting the number of the township, range, and section, upon the smooth surface. Each section contains 640 acres, and the smallest lot which can be purchased must comprise 40 acres. Section number 16 of each township, is reserved for the support of common schools; and liberal grants have been made for the erection of a University. The minimum price affixed by the government for the public lands, is a dollar and a quarter for the acre. In the different land offices which are established at Monroe, Bronson, and Detroit, there are annual sales of public lands by *auction;* and whatever remains unsold, is left to be purchased at these offices by private sale, on the payment of the government price.

The scenery of Michigan is in many parts beautiful. It has been our lot to wander along the borders of its largest rivers, and to traverse its deepest wilderness, at a season of the year when nature was adorned with its most magnificent dress. Immense forests of walnut, hickory, maple, beech, ash, poplar, and oaks, of different species and of enormous size, stretch out before the eye their gloomy solitudes to a vast extent, occasionally broken by a sheet of clear water, or a waving prairie. The streams which intersect the more undulating parts of the country are transparent and rapid.

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Broad lakes spread out their crystal mirrors to the heavens, within sandy banks encumbered by verdant and massive vegetation, and enamelled with gaudy and brilliant forest flowers. In the more dense parts of the wilderness, you may occasionally cross the track of a wolf or a bear, and, as you emerge into the oak openings, you will come suddenly upon a fine deer, bounding across the plains which seem like an immense park, or feeding by the banks of the lakes;

"hos tota armenta sequuntur
A tergo, et longum per valles pascitur agmen."

But the beauties of nature must atone for many *desagrémens*, and the absence of all beauties of art. Musquitoes and bad roads put the traveller's patience to the test; and while, occasionally, he finds little clusters of log huts, and even prosperous villages, springing up in the wilderness, these, in proportion to the extent of country, are, of course, few and far between. His eyes are more frequently greeted with the sight of the Indian wigwam, with its painted inmates lounging about the environs in savage disorder, or the solitary log cabin of the hardy emigrant, containing a household too often prostrated by sickness, and surrounded by half-burned and smouldering logs, of which he has just disburdened the soil with his axe.

We suppose that the average temperature is not lower than that of New England; and the climate is healthful, with the exception of those bilious disorders which are incidental to all new countries, particularly the fever and ague. This disease seems to be contracted from the month of June to September, and almost everybody who remains in the country through those months, is obliged to undergo a *seasoning*. It doubtless proceeds from the *miasmata* thrown off from decayed vegetable matter; for it is found that in proportion as the surrounding country is cleared up, the disease disappears.

The ante-revolutionary history of Michigan is in a great measure traditional, and is handed down to us mainly in scattered and mutilated fragments. A savage race of Indians, inhabiting an equally savage wilderness, remote from civilization, is the last source to which we should refer for well-authenticated historical documents; and the monuments which are daily ploughed up by the emigrant throughout the whole breadth of the Mississippi valley, rather present new problems, than elucidate the old. With the exception of what

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relates to bloody wars of the savages among themselves, and the successive struggles of the English, the Indians, and the French, for the right of domain, little of interest has been transmitted to our times.

The "Historical Sketches," whose title we have prefixed to our remarks, comprise a series of discourses delivered by Lewis Cass, our present Minister to France, Henry Whiting, John Biddle, and Henry R. Schoolcraft, the accomplished western scholar and antiquary, before the Historical Society of Michigan. This Society, it appears, was founded in 1829, for the purpose of collecting and perpetuating its historical records. The facts which are embodied in these Discourses, are, from the causes which we have mentioned, fragmentary, and of course form no compact and connected chain of history. They are, however, as interesting as could be collected by able and ingenious minds from crude materials, and are brought down to the year 1832. From certain causes which do not appear, they are destitute of a particular and accurate jurisprudential history of the State, commencing with the administration of Governor Cass. This is now, therefore, a great desideratum; because the organization of the territorial government into a firm and compact body politic, may be dated from his induction into office. Before that period, the jurisprudence of the territory was comparatively loose, unsettled, and desultory. To a lawyer of talents, this portion of its history would form a valuable subject for a future discourse.

The Discourse of Mr. Schoolcraft is confined to the consideration of Indian history. This subject falls properly within the scope of the historical sketches of Michigan, because out of relations to the savage tribes, arose all events of principal importance in its early settlement. They were proprietors of the soil, and the whites were their tenants at will; until by fraud, force, or policy, the Indians were themselves ejected from their ancestral domain. Mr. Schoolcraft has been long conversant with their character, as Indian Agent for the United States; and his habits of accurate observation and philosophical investigation, attach the highest authority to his opinions on all matters connected with them. The character of that fast fading, but, with all their errors, noble race, is a subject full of attraction to the philosophical student of man. It must be acknowledged that there is no nation on

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record, which, at a period anterior to civilization, has exhibited stronger and more exalted traits of character; and the subject acquires a melancholy interest from recent occurrences, wherein we view them rousing into one more desperate effort before they sink. We find them in league successively with the English, the French, and the Americans, and they have seldom evinced a want of talents or courage. As early as 1535, the French emigrants encountered the most formidable opposition from the Iroquois, or Five Nations. These tribes were closely affiliated, with the exception of the Wyandots or Hurons,* who severed from their family and took part with the French. They had their domiciles at the head of the most important streams; and their success was consequent, according to Mr. Schoolcraft, on their having early acquired the use of firearms, while the other tribes adhered with obstinacy to the use of the bow and the war club.

Against this confederacy, the French courted an alliance with the Algonquins, a race which were scattered along the banks of the St. Lawrence, and exerted a powerful influence towards the north and west, extending even to the principal tribes of New England. The Foxes were neutral, and destroyed their own influence by acquiring the hatred of both parties. The Chippewas subsequently formed an alliance with the French against the Foxes, and drove the latter race into the country west of the Mississippi. The French, who had most to fear from the enmity, and most to hope from the friendship of the Algonquins, took advantage of the hostilities between this tribe and the Iroquois, to secure the former to their cause, attending them in their hunting and war parties, intermarrying with them, and settling in their remotest villages. The Iroquois were a brave and crafty tribe, and carried the most savage war into the territory of their enemies; but were finally conquered by the French, backed by their confederates, the Algonquins.

Mr. Schoolcraft thinks that the declension of the Indians arises from causes incident to their own condition and habits, as much as from contact with civilization. Among these causes he enumerates disease, springing from an ignorance of medical science, wars, sudden transitions from heat to cold,

* Lake Huron derives its name from this tribe.

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from abstinence to repletion, and from exertion to indolence. We cannot forbear quoting his language in illustration of their melancholy decay, as the sentiments of a man who has thoroughly studied the Indian character.

"But not they only, — our entire Indian population appears fated to decline; not so much, it is apprehended, from the want of external sympathy, as from their falling under the operation of a general principle which spares neither white or red man, but inevitably dooms all who will not labor, to suffering and want. Accustomed to live on game, they cannot resolutely make up their minds to turn agriculturists, or shepherds, or mechanics. They have outlived the true hunter state of the country, yet adhere with fatal pertinacity to the maxims of a wandering life. They pursue their intestine feuds with as determined a rancor, as if they still had ample stores of animal food, and unbounded ranges of territory to flee to. They cannot be persuaded that there is any better mode of living, than that pursued by their forefathers, or any species of freedom, superior to the state of savage independence. This is the whole mystery of their decline, however other secondary causes may have hastened, and may still continue to accelerate it.

"They have been taught from early life, that tilling the earth is dishonorable; that war is the true path of glory; that happiness consists in sensual enjoyments; that forecast is distrust of Providence; the acquisition of property degrading, and generosity the test of greatness. But their generosity often degenerates into extravagance, and their trust in Providence into an excuse for indolence. Their aversion to labor is often to be traced to the fear of ridicule; their contempt of wealth, to the rage for popularity. The desire of personal distinction is frequently indulged at the expense of private rights and of national faith. Bravery is often another term for assassination; and riot, a milder word for homicide.

"These remarks may appear severe, but they are not intended to be so. They are conceived to be just; and we may appeal for their truth, to every person of observation, who has been long and intimately acquainted with our Indian tribes. No one can be insensible to the heroic traits of the Indian character; to his open hospitality, his constancy in professed friendships, his filial piety, his resignation under suffering, his valor in battle, and his triumph at the stake. No nation, perhaps, ever felt a stronger love of country, or cherished a deeper veneration for their dead. And they linger round the places of their sepulture, as if conscious that the period of separation was limited, and the soul itself was immortal.

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"There is a charm cast over the hunter's life, which it is easier to appreciate than describe. There is something noble in the situation and circumstances of the Indian, who, confident in his own skill, is buoyed up in his frail canoe, or, trusting to his own prowess, plunges into the deepest forests, reckless alike of want and danger, roving at will, without the ties of property to embarrass, or the obligation of laws to restrain him. But it is the charm of poetry, and not of real life. It is sweet to the contemplation, but bitter to the taste. The pleasure arises from associations which few will stop to analyze, but every heart can feel. It is a pleasure which will remain and be cherished as a species of intellectual talisman, long after the people who are the sources of it shall have submitted to their probable fate."—pp. 83 – 85.

Mr. Schoolcraft enters into an argument to show, that the abridgment of their hunting grounds is one prominent cause of their declension; and he affirms, that their character presents almost insuperable obstacles to the success of philanthropic labors for their improvement. He remarks;

"They neither desire our knowledge nor our religion. They are not in a situation to appreciate our customs or institutions. They distrust our power, decry our refinements, and condemn our laborious industry. All the motives that can operate on unenlightened minds, pride of character, the hope of fame, the fear of evil, tend powerfully to oppose civilization and Christianity. The Jew is not more wedded to his peculiarities, nor the Mussulman to his slothful habits and erroneous faith."—p. 88.

The recorded history of Michigan, commences with the emigration of Jacques Cartier, the first European adventurer to that region, who landed about three centuries ago upon the island of Montreal. Before this period, the vast region of country beyond the lakes was held through occupancy, by numerous Indian tribes, who had been previously engaged in a long series of disastrous and bloody wars with each other, for conquest or revenge. Cartier, however, was only the pioneer. Champlain, a French naval officer, laid the foundation of French influence in this country, by the establishment of a colony upon the banks of the river St. Lawrence, which gradually spread itself until it disputed the sovereignty of North America with England. By his agency, and that of the emigrants who explored the interior for the sake of gain, besides the Christian exertions of a body of Roman Catholic

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missionaries, a knowledge of the country was gradually acquired, and the dominion of civilization extended. In 1632, these missionaries had advanced as far as Lake Huron. They identified their fortunes with those of their converts, the Wyandot Indians, and suffered the same carnage with them, when they were conquered by their savage enemies, the Iroquois.

The French trade soon took the course of the upper Lakes; and trading posts with the Indians were established about the middle of the 17th century, at the Sault Ste. Marie, Green Bay, Chicago, St. Joseph, and Michilimackinac.

Robert de la Sâle, a Frenchman, was the first complete discoverer of the course and outlet of the Mississippi river, previous attempts for that object having been made and failed. Having built the first ship at Erie which had ever navigated the western Lakes, he embarked on board of that ship, and in 1679 ascended the Lakes to Michilimackinac; where he left his vessel, and embarked his party on Lake Michigan in canoes. Coasting along its shore to its southern extremity, he found his way over land to the Illinois, and descending that river and the Mississippi, he first saw, on the 7th day of April, 1681, the mingling of its waters with the Gulf of Mexico. He made such a report of the advantages of the country through which he had passed, after meeting the most discouraging obstacles, and suffering extraordinary hardships, as to induce the French government to establish a cordon of posts along the western Lakes and rivers, extending from Quebec to the delta of the Mississippi, which should keep the Indians in check, and monopolize the trade. It is a somewhat remarkable fact, that General Washington entered on his public career, in a mission to remonstrate with the commanding officers of the French, upon the Ohio and Alleghany, against these advancing establishments.

Detroit was founded, in 1701, by Monsieur de la Motte Cadillac, who left Montreal in Canada with a hundred men and a Jesuit, and made a permanent establishment at this point. This was the first white settlement in the region; and here was laid the foundation of the State of Michigan. The name Detroit, derived from the French word *étroit*, a *strait*, was given to the city from the fact that it was the prominent point upon the river, or *strait*, connecting Lake Erie with Lake St. Clair. Before this name was selected, Detroit was known to the French, and was styled in the early grants, Fort Pontchartrain of the strait of Lake Erie.

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There is a chasm in the history of Detroit from this period; and, in fact, we are left in entire darkness as to the particular causes which stimulated or checked its early growth. It would seem, from what we can collect in the broken records of the day, that it continued to advance with a moderate degree of prosperity, disturbed occasionally by attacks from the surrounding savages. Charlevoix remarks, that herds of buffaloes, which modern civilization has driven to the plains of Missouri and the base of the Rocky Mountains, were, in 1721, ranging upon the prairies bordering the river Raisin.

During the early settlement of Detroit, the Ottagamies or Foxes evinced a marked hostility to the whites, and several times attacked their forts; but they were soon discomfited and driven into obscurity by the confederates of the French, the Ottawas, the Potowotamies, and the Wyandots.

Governor Cass remarks, that only a few scattered and broken facts can be gleaned from the contemporaneous records of Detroit, for the space of forty years commencing with the year 1720. The surrounding savages were, many of them, treacherous and hostile; but, notwithstanding the most appalling disadvantages, the French colonial power was rapidly extended. In 1749, a reinforcement of emigrants, bringing with them the necessaries for the support of a colony, had been sent out from Europe, and new settlements were made. The wars between France and England, which prevailed during a portion of the eighteenth century, extended their ravages to this quarter. In 1760, under the capitulation of Montreal, the British took possession of Detroit and the other trading establishments of the French, which then commanded the great domain of the west, from points at St. Joseph, Green Bay, Maumee, Sandusky, and Michilimackinac. In 1763, these posts were ceded by France to Great Britain.

The Indian influence, which had been long vacillating between the English and the French, was strongly exerted against the former as soon as they had obtained the French posts; and at this juncture appeared a character unrivalled in savage history. That character was Pontiac. An Ottawa by birth, he had been long distinguished among the tribes as a chief uniting all qualities for command. He would have been eminent in any nation, savage or civilized, for the possession of an acute and solid judgment, profound dissimula-

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tion and address, invincible courage, and impressive eloquence. Profiting by the prejudices which were arrayed against the English, he established a general confederacy among the Indian tribes for the purpose of attacking, simultaneously, the line of English posts extending northwest from Niagara to Green Bay, and southwest to Pittsburg; (the whole constituting a thousand miles of frontier;) and, by treachery, slaughtering their garrisons. His design was, first to acquire possession of the territory, and afterwards to prevent the ingress of British power by a general Indian league. He possessed sufficient materials to inflame the passions of the savages, in the recollection of the injuries which they had for a long time endured. For this object, a grand council of war was convened. Pontiac showed them a belt, which he alleged that he had received from the French King, enjoining upon them to expel the British, and to make way for the return of the French; and he at the same time wrought upon their superstition, by declaring, that the Great Spirit had appeared to a Delaware Indian in a dream, prescribing the course of the savages, and demanding among other things, "Why do you suffer these *dogs* in red clothing to enter your country and take the land I gave you? Drive them from it, and when you are in distress I will help you." By the eloquence of his harangues upon such topics, he roused their minds to determined action. During the month of May, 1763, the storm burst suddenly upon the British garrisons, and nine out of twelve surrendered. Pontiac* considered the post at Detroit

* The following is a part of Pontiac's speech to the French inhabitants, on the 23d of May, 1763. "I have no doubt, my brothers, but this war is very troublesome to you, and that my warriors who are continually passing and repassing through your settlements frequently kill your cattle and injure your property. I am sorry for it, and hope you do not think that I am pleased with this conduct of my young men. And, as a proof of my friendship, recollect the war you had seventeen years ago, [1746,] and the part I took in it. The northern nations combined together, and came to destroy you. Who defended you? Was it not myself and my young men? The great Chief Mickinac, (the Turtle,) said in council that he would carry to his village the head of your chief warrior, and that he would eat his heart and drink his blood. Did I not then join you, and go to his camp and say to him, if he wished to kill the French, he must pass over my body and the bodies of my young men? Did I not take hold of the tomahawk with you, and aid you in fighting your battles with Mickinac, and driving him home to his country? Why do you think that I would turn my arms against you? Am I not the same French Pontiac who assisted you seventeen years ago? I am a Frenchman, and I wish to die a Frenchman." After throwing a war belt into the council, he continued; "My brothers, I begin to grow tired of

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as the most important, and the key to the ultimate success of his enterprise, and he therefore undertook its attack in person by stratagem. We subjoin an account of his contemplated mode of attack, and its fortunate discovery, in the language of Governor Cass.

"Such was the relative situation of the British and Indians, when Pontiac, having completed his arrangements, on the 8th of May, 1763, presented himself at the gates of the town with a considerable body of his warriors, and requested a council with the commanding officer. His plan was well devised, and had it been secretly kept, must have been successful. The Indians had sawed off their rifles so short, as to conceal them under their blankets. One of our most intelligent French inhabitants, Colonel Beaufait, has informed me, that his father, returning that day from the fort, met Pontiac and his party upon Bloody Bridge. The last warrior was his particular friend; and as he passed him he threw aside his blanket, and exhibited the shortened rifle, intimating, at the same time, the project they had in view. The Indian chief intended to meet the British commander in council, and at a given signal, which was to be the presentation of a belt of wampum in a peculiar manner, his attendants were to massacre all the officers, and rushing to the gates, to open them and admit the warriors, who were to be ready on the outside for immediate entrance. An indiscriminate slaughter was to follow, together with the demolition of the fort, and the annihilation of the British power.

"How Major Gladwyn acquired a knowledge of this atrocious scheme, cannot now be ascertained. The accounts which have been given of its disclosure are at variance; and it is possible that

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this *bad meat* which is upon our lands. I begin to see that this is not your case, for instead of assisting us in our war with the English, you are actually assisting them. I have already told you, and I now tell you again, that when I undertook this war it was only your interest I sought, and that I knew what I was about. I yet know what I am about. This year, they must all perish. The Master of Life so orders it. His will is known to us, and we must do as he says. And you, my brothers, who know him better than we do, wish to oppose his will! Until now, I have avoided urging you upon this subject, in hopes that if you could not aid, you would not injure us. I did not wish to ask you to fight with us against the English, and I did not believe that you would take part with them. You will say that you are not with them. I know it, but your conduct amounts to the same thing. You tell them all we do and say. You carry our counsels and plans to them. Now take your choice. You must be entirely French like ourselves, or entirely English. If you are French, take this belt for yourselves and your young men, and join us. If you are English, *we declare war against you.*" — p. 49.

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that officer may not have revealed the secret, from well-founded apprehensions of the consequences to his friendly monitor. I am inclined to believe that an Indian woman named Catherine, who was frequently employed in making moccasins for the garrison, was the person who communicated the important information. It is said that she had previously completed a number of pair for Major Gladwyn, and had been so well rewarded that her gratitude was excited. On the evening preceding the day assigned by the Indians for the catastrophe, an elk skin was delivered to her, for the purpose of making some very fine moccasins. After receiving it, she lingered about the quarters of the commanding officer, as though unwilling to depart; and when urged to leave the fort before the gates were closed, she gave some equivocal answer and desired to be led to Major Gladwyn. She then disclosed the whole plan. It was fortunate that her warning was well received. Major Gladwyn employed the night in making the necessary preparations. His defences were strengthened, his arms and ammunition examined and arranged, and every man within the fort, civil and military, was directed to be ready for instant and urgent service. The officers walked upon the ramparts during the night, not certain but that the usual inconstancy of the Indians might precipitate their movements, and urge an immediate assault. All, however, was silent except the songs and dances in the Indian camps, which alone broke upon the stillness of the night. They employed the time as they usually do upon the eve of any great enterprise, in singing and dancing, anticipating the full success of their scheme.

"In the morning, Pontiac and his warriors sung their war song, danced their war dance, and repaired to the fort. They were admitted without hesitation, and were conducted to the council-house, where Major Gladwyn and his officers were prepared to receive them. They perceived at the gate, and as they passed through the streets, an unusual activity and movement among the troops. The garrison was under arms, the guards were doubled, and the officers armed with swords and pistols. Pontiac inquired of the British commander, what was the cause of this unusual appearance. He was answered that it was proper to keep the young men to their duty, lest they should become idle and ignorant. The business of the council then commenced, and Pontiac proceeded to address Major Gladwyn. His speech was bold and menacing, and his manner and gesticulations vehement, and they became still more so as he approached the critical moment. When he was on the point of presenting the belt to Major Gladwyn, and all was breathless expectation, the drums at the door of the council-house suddenly rolled the

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charge, the guards levelled their pieces, and the British officers drew their swords from their scabbards. Pontiac was a brave man, constitutionally and habitually. He had fought in many a battle, and had often led his warriors to victory. But this unexpected and decisive proof that his treachery was discovered and prevented, entirely disconcerted him. *Tradition says he trembled.* And at all events, he delivered his belt in the usual manner, and thus failed to give his party the concerted signal of attack. Major Gladwyn immediately approached the chief, and drawing aside his blanket, discovered the shortened rifle; and then, after stating his knowledge of the plan, and reproaching him for his treachery, ordered him from the Fort. The Indians immediately retired; and as soon as they had passed the gates, they gave the yell, and fired upon the garrison. They then proceeded to the commons, where was living an aged English woman with her two sons. These they murdered, and then repaired to Hog Island, where a discharged Sergeant resided with his family, who were all but one immediately massacred. Thus was the war commenced."— pp. 30–32.

The following is the account by Governor Cass, of the surrender of another fort which was also carried by stratagem.

"The circumstances attending the surprise of Michilimackinac, are better known than those which led to the success of the Indians at any other place. The Fort was then upon the main land, near the northern point of the peninsula. The Ottawas, to whom the assault was committed, prepared for a great game of ball, to which the officers were invited. While engaged in the play, one of the parties gradually inclined towards the Fort, and the other pressed after them. The ball was once or twice thrown over the pickets, and the Indians were suffered to enter and procure it. Almost all the garrison were present as spectators, and those upon duty were negligent and unprepared. Suddenly the ball was thrown into the Fort, and all the Indians rushed after it. The rest of the tale is soon told. The troops were butchered and the fort destroyed." — p. 28.

The following arrangements of a maritime attack made by Pontiac upon certain British vessels, which had been sent to Niagara to hasten the arrival of a reinforcement as well as army stores, speak well for his ingenuity, although the attack was unsuccessful.

"Pontiac felt the necessity of destroying these vessels, and he therefore constructed rafts for that purpose. The barns of some

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of the inhabitants were demolished, and the materials employed in this work. Pitch and other combustibles were added, and the whole so formed as to burn with rapidity and intensity. They were of considerable length, and were towed to a proper position above the vessels, when fire was applied, and they were left to the stream in the expectation that they would be carried in contact with the vessels, and immediately set fire to them. Twice the attempt was made and unsuccessful. The British were aware of the design, and took their measures accordingly. Boats were constructed and anchored, with chains above the vessels, and every precaution was used to ward off the blow. The blazing rafts passed harmlessly by, and other incidents soon occurred to engage the attention of the Indians. On the 29th of July, a fleet of boats was descried ascending the river. Anxious to ascertain whether they had escaped the attacks of the Indians, a gun was fired from the Fort, which was immediately answered by the boats, each of which carried four swivels and two mortars; and on board the whole, was a detachment of 300 regular troops, under the command of Captain Dalyell, an aid-de-camp of Sir Jeffrey Amherst, the British Commander-in-chief." — p. 38.

Pontiac, like King Philip, carried his bitter hatred of the English to his grave. After a series of bloody struggles, accompanied by like acts of cunning, with which he continued to harass them, he separated himself from his former Indian confederates, who had established a compact of peace with the British, and retired to Illinois. For causes which do not appear, he was there assassinated by a Peoria Indian.*

The events to which we have referred, conjoined with a friendly policy which was thenceforward maintained towards the savages, left the British in possession of the posts. From that period, their mercantile enterprise was gradually pushed into the interior, through the channels of the fur trade; and their power was consolidated, until the outbreak of the American revolution. Throughout that war, the frontier position of Detroit exposed it to incursions of the Indians, (great numbers of whom had been engaged by British influence against the Colonies,) which continued to disturb its peace until inde-

* It may be mentioned as illustrative of the character of Pontiac, that in a subsequent war he appointed a commissary, and issued bills of credit, drawn upon bark, with his arms, the figure of an otter, sketched upon them, and that when these bills came to maturity, they were punctually redeemed.

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pendence was established. The subsequent controversy, originating from the surrender of the posts, gave rise to the well-known defeat of Harmar and St. Clair, and the successful campaign of General Wayne.

The treaty of 1783 included Michigan within the boundaries of the United States, and a great portion of the soil was doubly secured, in 1785, by compacts with the Indian tribes; but it continued, from well-known causes, for a considerable time, under the dominion of Great Britain. In 1796, that chivalrous officer, General Anthony Wayne, first planted the American banner on the fort at Detroit. The Ordinance of 1787 was at this time extended over Michigan, as being embraced within the boundaries of the Northwestern Territory, which was constituted by that ordinance. By this frame of government for the Northwestern Territory, (drawn up by Nathan Dane, the distinguished public benefactor and jurist of the State of Massachusetts, the founder of Dane Law College at Cambridge, and author of the "Abridgment and Digest of American Law,") the executive power was lodged in a Governor, the Judicial power in three Judges, and the Legislative power in both combined. The Ordinance itself was declared irrevocable without the "common consent"; and the legislative power was limited in its exercise to the adoption of laws from the codes of the different States. The officers of the Territory were to be appointed by the national government; and the expenses of the government were to be defrayed by Congress, until the Territory should contain a population of five thousand free white male inhabitants, after which time, it was to become optional with the Territory to provide its legislation at its own expense.

In 1805, during which year Detroit was destroyed by fire, General William Hull, the new Governor, organized the Territorial Government of Michigan, Ohio and Indiana having been erected into States, and Illinois into a separate Territory. From that time to 1819, the Ordinance, a comprehensive code of the most clearly defined and liberal principles of jurisprudence, and a worthy monument of its founder, continued in unabated force. Within this interval, the civil administration of the Territory was interrupted, as is well known, by the military operations in that quarter, which, commencing in 1812 with the disastrous movements of General Hull, and blackened by the massacre of the river Raisin,

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terminated, in the autumn of 1813, with the victory of Commodore Perry, and the advance of General Harrison to the Canada frontier. In that year, General Cass was appointed Governor of Michigan.

In 1819, the power to send a delegate to Congress, who should have the right of speaking but not of voting, was granted by a law of the United States, established *over* the Ordinance of 1787; and the right of suffrage, limited by that ordinance to freeholders, was extended to all taxable citizens. In 1823, the Territorial Government was further modified in favor of local influence, by an act of Congress. By this act, the right of *eligibility to office* was based on the right of *suffrage*, granted in the act of 1819; the Judicial term of office was limited to four years, the legislative power of the Governor and the Judges was taken away, and in their place was substituted a legislative body, with augmented powers, now denominated the "Legislative Council." This Council was required to be constituted of nine men, selected by the President of the United States, from eighteen candidates chosen by the people. In 1825, all the County offices of the Territory were made elective, excepting those which were connected with the administration of justice; and the Executive appointments were made subject to the acquiescence of the Legislative Council. In 1827, the electors of the Territory were empowered to select a number of persons equal to that of which the Council had heretofore been constituted. The power of this Council was confined to the enactment of laws consistent with the Ordinance of 1787; subject, however, to the *veto* of the Executive of the Territory, and the abrogation of Congress.

Thus stood the Territorial Government of Michigan until the establishment of the present State Constitution. It was ordained and established by a convention assembled at the City of Detroit, in May, 1835. Modelled somewhat after the constitutions of the other States, it is probably more democratic than any. This is particularly true in reference to the right of suffrage. It grants this right not only to all free white male citizens above the age of twenty-one years, who shall have resided in the State six months; but also to all free white male citizens of the aforesaid age, who shall have been residents of the State at the time of signing the Constitution. Whether this liberal provision does not open a door for cor-

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ruption and fraud, is a fair question for discussion, and we believe that it divides the public opinion of that State. The means of education are amply provided, in the act which ordains the establishment of common schools, the institution of a library in each township, supported by penal fines and taxes for exemption from military duty, and the erection of a University, aided by grants of public lands for that object, which we believe have been already made by the United States. These beneficial enactments, if discreetly carried out, will doubtless place the State on a strong basis of morals and intelligence. It is provided also, that the territorial laws, not repugnant to the Constitution, are to remain in force until they expire by their own limitation, or are repealed by action of the Legislature.

The attitude in which Michigan has for some time stood in relation to her southern boundary line, and to the Union, exhibits a marked anomaly in the history of the government. The State government is already organized, and the Territorial government still remains. The boundary line which is made the subject of controversy, is a belt of land seventy miles in length, and about eleven miles broad at its eastern, and seven at its western end, dividing the States of Ohio and Michigan. It is especially valuable upon the eastern side, on account of the fertility of the soil, and from the fact that it commands the outlet of the Maumee river, the key to a wide and rich back country; and will also afford the control of the Erie and Wabash Canal, a work of brilliant promise, which has recently been projected. Although the States of Indiana and Illinois would be abridged by the success of the claim of Michigan, still the main question, from the cause which we have stated, is at issue between this State and Ohio.

We shall not enter into a minute exhibition of the case, as the documentary evidence, running back into the early records of the Territory, would furnish matter for volumes. We will confine ourselves to a brief statement of its general grounds, since the whole subject has already passed under the examination of Congress.

It is contended on the part of Michigan, that the southern boundary of that State is fixed by the Ordinance of 1787, which was established by the then thirteen United States of America; that this ordinance is a solemn compact between the Federal Government, and the people who were then or should

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become inhabitants of the Territory; a compact unalterable except by common consent; "a compact" said Mr. John Q. Adams, on the floor of Congress, "as binding as was ever ratified by God in heaven." By the 5th article of that ordinance, it is declared that the boundaries of the three States constituting the Northwestern Territory, "shall be subject so far to be altered, that if Congress shall hereafter find it expedient, they shall have authority to form one or two States in that part of said Territory which lies North of *an East and West line drawn through the Southerly bend or extreme of Lake Michigan.*" It is affirmed in consequence of this ordinance, that the Southern boundary of Michigan is fixed by compact, and cannot be altered by Congress, except by *common consent.*

It was maintained on the other hand by Ohio, backed by the influence of Illinois and Indiana, — whose organized territory was involved, — that the aforesaid line prescribed in the ordinance was *not*, in the legal sense, a boundary, but a *parallel* and *partial* line, introduced "for the protection of the States below, and to prevent a diminution of the territory allotted to them; that the ordinance intended at once to give to Congress the discretionary power of forming one or two States in any part North of the line, and to restrain them from abridging the territory of the three States established by the ordinance, by coming to any extent whatever south of it."* It was affirmed that Congress had a right, therefore, to establish the Northern boundary of Ohio, as the Constitution of the State, which had been recognised by the General Government, declared it should be established, namely, by "*a direct line running from the Southerly extremity of Lake Michigan, to the most Northerly cape of Maumee Bay.*"

While this case was pending, Ohio passed a law, extending its jurisdiction over the disputed territory, which was actually resisted by Michigan with a military force. At this juncture, the President of the United States, foreseeing disturbances, appointed two commissioners, Mr. Richard Rush, of Pennsylvania, and Mr. Benjamin C. Howard, of Maryland, to repair to the disputed territory, and to adjust these differences, until the whole matter could be concluded by Congress. An arrangement was subsequently made between the parties, in May of 1835, to the effect, that Harris's line, the boundary

* Binney's speech on the Boundary Question.

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claimed by Ohio, should be re-marked by the surveyor, without interruption ; and that the people upon the disputed territory should acknowledge, at their option, the jurisdiction either of Ohio or Michigan. This arrangement, however, left the matter pretty much where it was found, and did not assuage the existing excitement. The war accordingly broke out anew upon the border, to enforce and resist the jurisdiction of either State.

This question was not acted upon, finally, by Congress, until the month of April of the last year, in "the bill to establish the boundary line of Ohio, and to provide for the admission of Michigan into the Union." In this bill, the boundary, as claimed by Ohio, was established for that State, and the admission of Michigan was made *conditional* on its assent to this boundary, given by a convention of delegates from the people. As a *quittance*, the same act granted an extension of its territorial limits towards the shores of Lake Superior. This matter was acted on by a convention held in September last, and the condition proposed in the act of Congress was rejected. The important questions involved seem, therefore, at least as far from adjustment as ever.

No one can travel through Michigan at the present time, without being astonished at the spirit of speculation, which there perhaps, more than in any other district of the West, is burning with such *fanatical intenseness*. It seems impossible to doubt that it proceeds, to a great extent, upon a basis of calculations which never can be realized; and that, exceedingly often, valuations are merely factitious. Certainly, a new and growing country is the right field of speculation. A broad acre of good arable soil is doubtless worth double the government price, for actual use ; and there are eligible points, where large cities will eventually be built up. The evil is, that the spirit excited by the imagination, travels *beyond* all reasonable prospects of the growth of the country, and that it is opposed to that every-day industry, which must itself create the growth that is looked for. The hardy yeoman who emigrates to that country, with limited funds, for the purpose of purchasing and *improving* a farm, is soon infected with the epidemic speculating mania, and betakes himself to his paper and pencil, instead of uprooting the oaks, and following his plough through the mellow soil. Altogether too great a portion of the land is purchased to sell, and too little to cultivate.

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The cities of the West cannot be maintained and enriched, but by agricultural industry. *Festina lente* is an important maxim, not only for individuals, but nations. Magnificent institutions will doubtless rise up in the West, for rapid growth is the necessary consequence of its affluent resources; but we have no doubt, that before that period arrives, many rivers which are now of great consideration on paper, will be used as mere duck ponds, and many sites of very plausible cities, now engraved upon the maps, will be bought and sold as wheat fields. Happy if they are capable even of being put to that use, for the city-makers do not always operate on such good materials.*

The valuable Discourses of Mr. Whiting and Mr. Biddle, which are presented in the volume of "Historical and Scientific Sketches of Michigan," both relate to the later history of that Territory, and we have been indebted to them for many of our statements belonging to that period. They are followed by extracts from a lecture delivered by Mr. Schoolcraft, before the Detroit Lyceum, upon the Natural History of Michigan, containing important and curious details, respecting its geology, animals, and minerals. A few remarks by Major Whiting, on the supposed tides of the North American Lakes, are subjoined. These are illustrated by a tabular view of the periodical rise and fall of the tides at Green Bay, the result of observations made in 1828, at the request of Governor Cass. The history and science, as well as the social prosperity of Michigan, are not under greater obligations to any individual, living or dead, than to that distinguished soldier, scholar, and statesman.

* The process of *city-making* for purposes of speculation, as it is too often practised in Michigan, as well as in other Western States, is substantially as follows. A tract of land is purchased by the acre, sometimes by individuals, but more frequently by companies, at the government price, and, if it can be obtained, along the banks of a lake or stream. This tract is surveyed, and laid out into a city or village, with the streets, squares, and public buildings all tastefully laid down upon a map. *Choice city lots* are then offered in market, at an enhanced price, and under an imposing name. The vender does not always tell, nor does he always know, whether his city possesses local advantages or not; whether it is upon the shore of a dismal fen, or the brow of a precipice. Sales have actually been sometimes effected of immense tracts, which have never been explored by either party; and no wonder, if the dream of wealth is sometimes broken by the "sober certainty" of an unenvied as well as undisputed possession of some pestilential bog, or swamp of *Tamarack*.

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ART. V. — *Philothea, a Romance.* By MRS. CHILD, Author of "The Mother's Book," &c. Boston; Otis, Broaders, & Co. 1836. 12mo. pp. 284.

THE early writings of Mrs. Child gave brilliant promise of future eminence in the path of imaginative literature. The little tale of "Hobomok" contains passages of pathos and power, which are certainly extraordinary, coming from so young and untried an hand. Notwithstanding some serious defects in the plot, the numerous excellences of the work, its copious, vigorous, and eloquent style, and the rare descriptive talent it manifested, placed its gifted and youthful authoress, at once, among our most promising writers of fiction. This romance was followed, at a considerable interval, by the tale of "The Rebels"; and public curiosity was strongly excited, to know if this second appearance would sustain the reputation won by the first. If we remember rightly, the reading circles were somewhat disappointed; but still the same vigorous expression, lively fancy, and copious eloquence, which charmed the readers of "Hobomok," were undeniably exhibited. It was naturally supposed that a career, so auspiciously commenced, in the fascinating pursuit of literary renown, would be followed out, until the authoress's fully developed powers had assumed their rightful station in the literature of the country. In this, our expectations were not fulfilled. With the exception of a few short tales and poems, — a few slender veins that served only to show the riches of the mine beneath the surface, — Mrs. Child added nothing to the elegant literature of the day. It was a subject of some surprise and more regret, that one so well qualified to adorn the path she had apparently chosen, should have deserted it so soon. "The practical tendencies of the age," she remarks, in an elegantly written preface, "and particularly of the country in which I lived, have so continually forced me into the actual, that my mind has seldom obtained freedom to rise into the ideal." Mrs. Child's works, subsequent to the publication of "The Rebels," hardly come within the scope of this Journal, and we therefore pass at once to the new novel, the title of which stands at the head of this article. We cannot, however, allow the occasion to pass by, without expressing our pleasure at meeting Mrs. Child again in the calm and gladsome light of literature.

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This novel, as its title indicates, is an attempt to paint the manners and life of Grecian classical times. The attempt is a bold one, and of a kind rarely attended with much success. Mr. Lockhart's "Valerius" is a splendid and powerful delineation of the first age of the Christian religion. But there was an element at work among the fragments of the institutions of early classical times, which connected the feelings of that period with the predominant feelings of later ages. It was not, therefore, so hard a task to give a living picture of that period, as Mrs. Child has undertaken in her romance. Mr. Bulwer's "Pompeii" has the advantage of describing a wonderful and terrible event in the physical world, of which an eye-witness has left us a striking memorial. He too deals with the sufferings of the early Christians, and his work is but slightly tinctured with the coloring of classical antiquity. It is a brilliant and gorgeous succession of pictures, but has none of the calm and majestic strength of the old masters. Indeed, to revive the scenes of historical or classical interest, with a fidelity which shall satisfy the imagination and heart, demands a power of intellect, that few novel-writers possess. A Milton, a Goethe, a Talfourd can do it. Original genius is not the only thing needed; to that must be added minute and thorough learning, and a power of keenly searching into the spirit of other days. Critical skill must yield the treasures of its long and painful investigations; imagination must summon the forms of the departed, and the severest taste must represent them in the shapes of historical truth. The classical novelist must know how to go beyond the circle of his daily associations, and lay aside the feelings of the modern. He must contemplate life, art, society, and religion under an aspect wholly different from that, to which his mind has been accustomed from his boyish days. He must renounce himself, and transform his being, for the time, into the great original he draws. He must be able to contemplate the scenes he describes *objectively*, as the Germans call it. An egotist, like Lord Byron, would find it utterly impossible to write a classical novel. Indeed, the universal uproar of this age of new things, in which every individual is fighting under his own banner, and means to make the most of his chance to better his condition, renders the attempt to recall the serene spirit of beauty, which, in our imaginations at least, is breathed over the manners, arts, and literature of the classical world, peculiarly hazardous, and any

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degree of success peculiarly honorable to the genius of the aspirant after that kind of literary fame.

Mrs. Child has some intellectual traits, which are well suited to success in this field of literary enterprise. She has a vigorous and exuberant imagination, and an accurate eye for beauty of form. She understands the harmonious construction of language, and can describe both nature and society with liveliness and truth. Her style, in its general character, is rich and eloquent; abounding in brilliant turns and fanciful illustrations. It is generally simple, energetic, and impressive, but sometimes it is too dazzling. In fact, the copiousness of her imagination, and the ardor of her feelings, which lend such power to her enthusiastic eloquence, in a measure injure her style for classical novel-writing. It is deficient in *repose*; we must use that word for want of a better. Classical scholars feel that ancient literature is deeply impressed with the peculiar quality, which can be described in its effect by that word alone. The study of the best classics soothes and solemnizes the mind like the contemplation of nature, or the presence of a gallery of ancient statues, standing before us in the marble stillness of centuries; and our imagination craves the same impressive effect in a work that essays to recall the spirit of classical times. In this point of view, it appears to us that Mrs. Child has not been entirely successful. She has not gone out of her peculiar feelings and opinions far enough to give us something thoroughly Greek. We trace distinctly enough certain ways of thinking, that belong, not merely to modern times, but to Mrs. Child herself. Through the whole work, we are threading the mazes of an imaginative faith, and a transcendental philosophy, partly Platonic, partly Swedenborgian. This influence has guided her in forming the leading characters, and in constructing the discourses and dialogues, in which their peculiarities are unfolded.

The time selected by Mrs. Child is the most brilliant period in the history of Athens. Pericles, the master statesman of the ancient world, is at the head of affairs, swaying the destinies of the tumultuous republic. Plato teaches philosophy in the Academy, and Phidias builds the temples and carves the statues of the gods. Aspasia captivates the gravest sages by her beauty, wit, and eloquence, and well nigh overthrows the ancient severity of female manners, by introducing among the matrons and maidens of the violet-crowned city, the unheard-of

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freedom of appearing unveiled at the symposia of the wits. Tragedy and Comedy have arrived at the highest point of cultivation, and all the arts connected with them are elaborated till the hand of genius can go no further. The courts of justice and the assemblies of the people are thronged by busy, inquisitive crowds, for whose entertainment, instruction, or corruption, the orators and demagogues are continually at work. Swarms of Sophists teach the young men the subtilties of their pernicious art, against which the keen dialectic weapons, forged in the Socratic workshop, can scarcely avail. Strangers throng to Athens from every part of the world, to gaze on her wondrous citadel, and the majestic forms of her gods. Ambassadors lay the pompous homage of dependent colonies and semibarbarous nations at her feet. Such is the splendid age, in which the scene of Mrs. Child's novel is laid. Such are the gorgeous but somewhat indefinite pictures which the page of history unfolds to us; and so far the character of the age is sufficiently intelligible. But to go beneath this gay and glittering surface, and detect the elements at work there; to follow the statesman from the *agora* or the courts, to the scenes of domestic life; to accompany the philosopher from his walk beneath the grove, to his private residence, or nightly revel; to detect beneath the plausible exterior of pompous religious rites, the lurking imposture, or the sneer of skepticism; to unravel the threads of apologue, irony, playfulness, and symbolical expression in the discourses of the philosophers, and learn the almost hidden truth they would teach; to judge truly and delineate strongly the influence of woman, both in the strict seclusion of the austere lovers of the olden times, and in the free circles of the Aspasias; to unfold the secret of that amazingly rapid growth of art and letters, which has made Athens and the age of Pericles for ever illustrious,—were a task for the mightiest genius, the profoundest knowledge, the most delicate taste. To say that Mrs. Child has not done all this, is far enough from calling in question either her ability or learning.

The main interest of the tale centres in the fortunes of Philothea, the heroine, and a subordinate interest is kept up by an underplot, in which are developed the character and adventures of Eudora, Philothea's friend and companion. The heroine is the granddaughter of the philosopher Anaxagoras, and is represented as having been educated by him with sedu-

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lous care. Eudora is a member of the family of Phidias, the sculptor, having been purchased by him in early childhood, and trained up in his own household. Paralus, the son of Pericles, has been under the instruction of Anaxagoras, and an attachment has been formed between him and Philothea. The young man is compelled to subdue his affections to the bidding of parental ambition, and resign all thoughts of marrying Philothea. An attachment has also sprung up between Eudora and a wealthy young Athenian, Philæmon, whose mother is a Corinthian by birth. Philæmon is summoned before the court of Cynosarges, and condemned to lose his estates and the privileges of an Athenian citizen, in consequence of a slight taint of foreign blood in his veins. The tale opens with a scene in which the two maidens are watching the return of Philæmon and his friends from the court.

Meantime the witty and wicked Lothario of Athens, Alcibiades, has been struck with the beauty of Eudora, and determines to win her to his base purposes. The splendor of his name and rank, the grace of his person, and the captivating power of his eloquence, have already partially dazzled the imagination of the simple-hearted maiden, before her firmer friend, Philothea, is aware of the danger. This is the source of distress in the plot. To facilitate his libertine designs, Alcibiades persuades Aspasia to have both Philothea and Eudora present at one of her symposia. The description of this *réunion* is one of the most striking portions of the book. The characters that figure in it are among the most illustrious of that period of Athenian history. Pericles and Aspasia, Plato, Anaxagoras, and Alcibiades, with numerous others; an Ethiopian of distinction; the Persian ambassador; Phidias the sculptor, and the two maidens, are present and partake of the conversation and festivities of the night. Alcibiades persuades the credulous Eudora that he will repudiate his wife and marry her; and Philothea finds it impossible at first to dispel the delusion. She grants him an interview, which is interrupted accidentally by Philæmon, her lover. The infatuated damsel is only aroused to a sense of her danger by overhearing a conversation at the house of Aspasia, between her and Alcibiades, in which her own name is coupled with that of Electra, a courtezan of Corinth. In the mean time, Philæmon, shocked at the discovery he has accidentally made, and disgusted with the unjust treatment to which he has been sub-

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jected by the court of Cynosarges, prepares to leave his country and seek a refuge at the Persian court.

A prosecution is now instituted against the most confidential friends of Pericles, by the enemies of the great statesman. Anaxagoras, Phidias, even Aspasia herself, are summoned before the people to answer to various charges, brought against them by the intrigues of a powerful faction, who aimed at the political destruction of Pericles. The issue of the prosecution is the banishment of Phidias, who retires to Elis, and of Anaxagoras, who takes up his abode in Lampsacus. Soon after, the plague breaks out in Athens, and rages through the city, sparing neither high nor low, neither age nor sex. Among other illustrious victims is Paralus, the son of Pericles, and lover of Philothea. He is left by the awful disease in a state of utter helplessness. He retains no recollection of the past, save the memory of his lost Philothea. He has no perception of the objects of sense around him, but is perpetually visited with delightful visions from the land of spirits. The haughty spirit of Pericles is subdued by these domestic calamities; and he forthwith sends Plato on an embassy, to express his earnest wish that Philothea will return to Athens and marry his now helpless son. She readily, nay joyfully consents, in the hope that she may assist in restoring his shattered intellect to a healthy tone. She arrives in Athens, and is united to Paralus with due solemnities. Pericles, with Paralus and Philothea, accompanied by Plato and others, journey to Olympia, hoping to benefit the health of the sufferer by the stirring scene of the games, and the old associations of which they may touch the chord. At Elis they encounter Eudora, living in seclusion after the death of Phidias her protector. The experiment is unsuccessful, and Paralus dies. The mourning party return to Athens, where the funeral honors are completed, and the urn, containing the ashes of the best beloved son of Pericles, is deposited in his ancestral tomb. Philothea gradually wastes away, and soon dies. Eudora is again exposed to the persecution of Alcibiades, by whose hirelings she is seized and carried forcibly to Salamis. She is rescued from this perilous prison by her faithful Geta, but is so swiftly pursued that she is compelled to take refuge in Creusa's grotto, where she remains some time. Here she receives a supernatural visitation from Paralus and Philothea, and is warned by them to seek Artaphernes the Persian. She obeys the celes-

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tial intimation, and finds in Artaphernes her father. After this developement she returns with him to Persia, and is at length united to her lover, who is in high favor at the Persian court.

This very brief sketch will give some idea of the groundwork, on which Mrs. Child has raised the superstructure of her story. It is obvious that she has introduced upon her canvas the figures of mighty historical characters, who will task all the vigor of her pencil. How has she succeeded? We have already spoken in general terms of her style. In this book it has all its characteristic beauty and force. It is musical and significant. The glories of Athens are described in language fresh and sparkling, like the radiant forms of art, which filled the proud city. The imagery she draws around her scenes, and the associations she awakens, are in strict keeping with the time, the character, and the place. She has mastered all the learning requisite to the preserving of the outward proprieties, and the allusions and scenery are fastidiously correct. Indeed, it may justly be said, that she is too laboriously classical in minute details; in her Atticism, she is hyperattic, and might be known for a foreigner on classic ground, as Theophrastus was hailed "O Stranger" by a fishwoman of Athens, in consequence of the elaborate finish of his pronunciation. The general idea of each of her historical characters seems to us historically correct; but the details are not always so. The picture of the age is in the main truly colored; yet there are many features, in the character of the times, which are not sufficiently brought out. Thus the plague, of which Thucydides has given so true and masterly a description, opens scenes and presents contrasts that might have been used with great effect; and the trial of the friends of Pericles might have been described at greater length, and with more fulness of detail. In the course of the story, we think that love, in the modern acceptation of the word, plays far too conspicuous a part. The gallantries of Alcibiades are too much like the intrigues of a modern rake; and the perils and rescue of Eudora, would be in place in a novel of the last century.

The two characters on which Mrs. Child has expended the most care and labor, are evidently those of Plato and Philothea. So far as her portrait of the philosopher goes, it is unquestionably correct; but, led by some elective affinity, she has selected a few of Plato's philosophical doctrines, and represented his character only through their medium. The conse-

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quence is, that the Sage of the Academy appears but in one light. He is for ever the mystic and the moralizer, with a dash of sentiment that almost unmans him. Whether discoursing with the carousers at the Symposium, or with the young ladies, on a journey, or at Lampsacus, he perpetually arrays his harangues with fanciful analogies, and mystic intimations, and poetical rhapsodies. He drags in, seasonably and out of season, his strange notions about preëxistence and the connexion between the spiritual and outer world; but he never appears like a man engaged with the actual business of life, or capable of discussing the high themes of policy; never as a master for statesmen, or teacher of science to vigorous-minded youth. But this is a partial view of Plato's character; true as far as it goes, and false in its general effect. The themes he is made to touch upon exclusively, he *did* discuss occasionally; they formed a part, but not the whole of his philosophy. He indulged his imagination, it is true, with an occasional flight into an ideal world; but he was at times a severe logician, and a practical dealer with stubborn facts. In the exuberance of his genius, he would even run riot in beautiful visions, and fantastic theories; but he could come down to the elaborate discussion of scientific principles, and many of the weightiest arguments, on the most solemn questions of the destiny of man, are wrought out by him with an amazing vigor of understanding. Now, as in his writings Plato is often full of plain practical common sense, it is a fair inference that his common conversation partook largely of the same character; and in this respect we think that our author has not given a full and complete view, or even a justly proportioned view, of his intellectual constitution.

Philothea is a beautiful creation. A woman of great personal loveliness, educated in the midst of all the influences that can refine the imagination, deeply imbued with the more spiritual part of the Platonic philosophy, in daily communion with all of wit and genius that the best portion of Athenian society could offer, she rises before us, a being of such pure beauty, that we think of her not as of a daughter of this world, but as a child of the skies. The character is drawn with a delicate perception of the minutest proprieties and the finest shades. No discordant act breaks the harmony of her being; no harsh or violent sentiment, no wild passion, mingles with the gentle tone of her daily thoughts. The supernatural incidents that

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occur after her death, are a beautiful finale to the rich music of her life. But can we realize the character? does it belong to human life, and Attic life? No. It is a lovely dream of Mrs. Child's imagination.

We might go on still further, but our readers will be better satisfied with some specimens of the book. We cannot leave it, however, without expressing our persuasion that it will take a permanent place in our elegant literature; for, though deficient in some points of execution, it has the vital qualities that will save it from the common doom. Every page of it breathes the inspiration of genius, and shows a highly cultivated taste, in literature and art. The structure of its style is such as belongs only to a mind of fresh and vigorous powers; and the greatest fault of its plot, — its tendency to an excessive idealism, — will perhaps scarcely abate its popularity.

"The room in which the guests were assembled, was furnished with less of Asiatic splendor than the private apartment of Aspasia; but in its magnificent simplicity, there was a more perfect manifestation of ideal beauty. It was divided in the middle by eight Ionic columns, alternately of Phrygian and Pentelic marble. Between the central pillars stood a superb statue from the hand of Phidias, representing Aphrodite guided by Love and crowned by the goddess of Persuasion. Around the walls were Phœbus and Hermes in Parian marble, and the nine Muses in ivory. A fountain of perfumed water from the adjoining room diffused coolness and fragrance as it passed through a number of concealed pipes, and finally flowed into a magnificent vase, supported by a troop of Naiades.

"In a recess stood the famous lion of Myron, surrounded by infant loves, playing with his paws, climbing his back, and decorating his neck with garlands. This beautiful group seemed actually to live and move in the clear light and deep shadows derived from a silver lamp suspended above.

"The walls were enriched with some of the choicest paintings of Apollodorus, Zeuxis, and Polygnotus. Near a fine likeness of Pericles, by Aristolaus, was Aspasia, represented as Chloris scattering flowers over the earth, and attended by winged Hours.

"It chanced that Pericles himself reclined beneath his portrait, and though political anxiety had taken from his countenance something of the cheerful freshness which characterized the picture, he still retained the same elevated beauty, — the same deep,

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quiet expression of intellectual power. At a short distance, with his arm resting on the couch, stood his nephew Alcibiades, deservedly called the handsomest man in Athens. He was laughing with Hermippus, the comic writer, whose shrewd, sarcastic, and mischievous face was expressive of his calling. Phidias slowly paced the room, talking of the current news with the Persian Artaphernes. Anaxagoras reclined near the statue of Aphrodite, listening and occasionally speaking to Plato, who leaned against one of the marble pillars, in earnest conversation with a learned Ethiopian.

"The gorgeous apparel of the Asiatic and African guests, contrasted strongly with the graceful simplicity of Grecian costume. A saffron-colored mantle and a richly embroidered Median vest glittered on the person of the venerable Artaphernes. Tithonus, the Ethiopian, wore a skirt of ample folds, which scarcely fell below the knee. It was of the glorious Tyrian hue, resembling a crimson light shining through transparent purple. The edge of the garment was curiously wrought with golden palm leaves. It terminated at the waist in a large roll, twined with massive chains of gold, and fastened by a clasp of the far-famed Ethiopian topaz. The upper part of his person was uncovered and unornamented, save by broad bracelets of gold, which formed a magnificent contrast with the sable color of his vigorous and finely-proportioned limbs.

"As the ladies entered, the various groups came forward to meet them; and all were welcomed by Aspasia with earnest cordiality and graceful self-possession. While the brief salutations were passing, Hipparete, the wife of Alcibiades, came from an inner apartment, where she had been waiting for her hostess. She was a fair, amiable young matron, evidently conscious of her high rank. The short blue tunic, which she wore over a lemon-colored robe, was embroidered with golden grasshoppers; and on her forehead sparkled a jewelled insect of the same species. It was the emblem of unmixed Athenian blood; and Hipparete alone, of all the ladies present, had a right to wear it. Her manners were an elaborate copy of Aspasia; but deprived of the powerful charm of unconsciousness, which flowed like a principle of life into every motion of that beautiful enchantress."—pp. 34 – 36.

"At a signal from Plato, slaves filled the goblets with wine, and he rose to propose the usual libation to the gods. Every Grecian guest joined in the ceremony, singing in a recitative tone:

Dionysus, this to thee,
God of warm festivity!
Giver of the fruitful vine,
To thee we pour the rosy wine!

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"Music, from the adjoining room, struck in with the chorus, and continued for some moments after it had ceased.

"For a short time, the conversation was confined to the courtesies of the table, as the guests partook of the delicious viands before them. Plato ate olives and bread only; and the water he drank was scarcely tinged with Lesbian wine. Alcibiades rallied him upon this abstemiousness; and Pericles reminded him that even his great pattern, Socrates, gave Dionysus his dues, while he worshipped the heaven-born Pallas.

"The philosopher quietly replied, 'I can worship the fiery God of Vintage, only when married with Nymphs of the Fountain.'

"'But tell me, O Anaxagoras and Plato,' exclaimed Tithonus, 'if, as Hermippus hath said, the Grecian philosophers discard the theology of the poets? Do ye not believe in the gods?'

"Plato would have smiled, had he not reverenced the simplicity that expected a frank and honest answer to a question so dangerous. Anaxagoras briefly replied, that the mind which did not believe in divine beings must be cold and dark indeed.

"'Even so,' replied Artaphernes devoutly; 'blessed be Oromasdes, who sends Mithras to warm and enlighten the world! But what surprises me most is, that you Grecians import new divinities from other countries as freely as slaves, or papyrus, or marble. The sculptor of the gods will scarcely be able to fashion half the images.'

"'If the custom continues,' rejoined Phidias, 'it will indeed require a life-time as long as that conferred upon the namesake of Tithonus.'

"'Thanks to the munificence of artists, every deity has a representative in my dwelling,' observed Aspasia.

"'I have heard strangers express their surprise that the Athenians have never erected a statue to the principle of *Modesty*,' said Hermippus.

"'So much the more need that we enshrine her image in our own hearts,' rejoined Plato.

"The sarcastic comedian made no reply to this quiet rebuke. Looking toward Artaphernes, he continued: 'Tell me, O servant of the great king, wherein the people of your country are more wise in worshipping the sun, than we, who represent the same divinity in marble?'

"'The principles of the Persian religion are simple, steady, and uniform,' replied Artaphernes; 'but the Athenian are always changing. You not only adopt foreign gods, but sometimes create new ones, and admit them into your theology by solemn act of the great council. These circumstances have led me to suppose that you worship them as mere forms. The Per-

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sian Magi do indeed prostrate themselves before the rising Sun; but they do it in the name of Oromasdes, the universal Principle of Good, of whom that great luminary is the visible symbol. In our solemn processions, the chariot sacred to Oromasdes precedes the horse dedicated to Mithras; and there is deep meaning in the arrangement. The Sun and the Zodiac, the Balance and the Rule, are but emblems of truths, mysterious and eternal. As the garlands we throw on the sacred fire feed the flame, rather than extinguish it, so the sublime symbols of our religion are intended to preserve, not to conceal, the truths within them.'

"'Though you disclaim all images of divinity,' rejoined Aspasia, 'yet we hear of your Mithras pictured like a Persian king, trampling on a prostrate ox.'

"With a smile, Artaphernes replied, 'I see, lady, that you would fain gain admittance to the Mithraic cave; but its secrets, like those of your own Eleusis, are concealed from all save the initiated.'

"'They tell us,' said Aspasia, 'that those who are admitted to the Eleusinian mysteries die in peace, and go directly to the Elysian fields; while the uninitiated wander about in the infernal abyss.'

"'Of course,' said Anaxagoras, 'Alcibiades will go directly to Elysium, though Solon groped his way in darkness.'

"The old philosopher uttered this with imperturbable gravity, as if unconscious of satirical meaning; but some of the guests could scarcely repress a smile, as they recollected the dissolute life of the young Athenian.

"'If Alcibiades spoke his real sentiments,' said Aspasia, 'I venture to say he would tell us that the mystic baskets of Demeter, covered with long purple veils, contain nothing half so much worth seeing, as the beautiful maidens who carry them.'

"She looked at Pericles, and saw that he again cautioned her, by raising the rose toward his face, as if inhaling its fragrance.

"There was a brief pause; which Anaxagoras interrupted, by saying, 'The wise can never reverence images merely as images. There is a mystical meaning in the Athenian manner of supplicating the gods with garlands on their heads, and bearing in their hands boughs of olive twined with wool. Pallas, at whose birth we are told gold rained upon the earth, was unquestionably a personification of wisdom. It is not to be supposed that the philosophers of any country consider the sun itself as any thing more than a huge ball of fire; but the sight of that glorious orb leads the contemplative soul to the belief in one Pure Intelligence, one Universal Mind, which, in manifesting itself,

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produces order in the material world, and preserves the unconfused distinction of infinite varieties.'

"'Such, no doubt, is the tendency of all reflecting minds,' said Phidias; 'but in general, the mere forms are worshipped, apart from the sacred truths they represent. The gods we have introduced from Egypt are regarded, by the priests of that learned land, as emblems of certain divine truths brought down from ancient times. They are like the Hermæ at our doors, which outwardly appear to rest on inexpressive blocks of stone; but when opened, they are found to contain beautiful statues of the gods within them. It is not so with the new fables which the Greeks are continually mixing with their mythology. Pygmalion, as we all know, first departed from the rigid outline of ancient sculpture, and impressed life and motion upon marble. The poets, in praise of him, have told us that his ardent wishes warmed a statue into a lovely and breathing woman. The fable is fanciful and pleasing in itself; but will it not hereafter be believed as reality? Might not the same history be told of much that is believed? It is true,' added he, smiling, 'that I might be excused for favoring a belief in images, since mortals are ever willing to have their own works adored.'

"'What does Plato respond to the inquiries of Phidias?' asked Artaphernes.

"The philosopher replied; 'Within the holy mysteries of our religion is preserved a pure and deep meaning, as the waters of Arethusa flow uncontaminated beneath the earth and the sea. I do not presume to decide, whether all that is believed has the inward significancy. I have ever deemed such speculations unwise. If the chaste daughter of Latona always appears to my thoughts veiled in heavenly purity, it is comparatively unimportant whether I can prove that Acteon was torn by his dogs, for looking on the goddess with wanton eyes. Anaxagoras said wisely, that material forms lead the contemplative mind to the worship of ideal good, which is in its nature immortal and divine. Homer tells us, that the golden chain resting upon Olympus reaches even to the earth. Here we see but a few of the last links, and those imperfectly. We are like men in a subterranean cave, so chained that they can look only forward to the entrance. Far above and behind us is a glowing fire; and beautiful beings, of every form, are moving between the light and us poor fettered mortals. Some of these bright beings are speaking, and others are silent. We see only the shadows cast on the opposite wall of the cavern, by the reflection of the fire above; and if we hear the echo of voices, we suppose it belongs to those passing shadows. The soul, in its present condition, is an exile from the orb of

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light; its ignorance is forgetfulness; and whatever we can perceive of truth, or imagine of beauty, is but a reminiscence of our former more glorious state of being. He who reverences the gods, and subdues his own passions, returns at last to the blest condition from which he fell. But to talk, or think, about these things with proud impatience, or polluted morals, is like pouring pure water into a miry trench; he who does it disturbs the mud, and thus causes the clear water to become defiled. When Odysseus removed his armour from the walls, and carried it to an inner apartment, invisible Pallas moved before him with her golden lamp, and filled the place with radiance divine. Telemachus, seeing the light, exclaimed, "Surely, my father, some of the celestial gods are present." With deep wisdom, the king of Ithaca replied, "Be silent. Restrain your intellect, and speak not."'

"'I am rebuked, O Plato,' answered Phidias; 'and from henceforth, when my mind is dark and doubtful, I will remember that transparent drops may fall into a turbid well. Nor will I forget that sometimes, when I have worked on my statues by torch-light, I could not perceive their real expression, because I was carving in the shadow of my own hand.'

"'Little can be learned of the human soul, and its connexion with the Universal Mind,' said Anaxagoras. 'These sublime truths seem vague and remote, as Phœacia appeared to Odysseus like a vast shield floating on the surface of the distant ocean.

"'The glimmering uncertainty attending all such speculations, has led me to attach myself to the Ionic sect, who devote themselves entirely to the study of outward nature.'

"'And this is useful,' rejoined Plato: 'The man who is to be led from a cave will more easily see what the heavens contain by looking to the light of the moon and the stars, than by gazing on the sun at noonday.'" — pp. 43 – 49.

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ART. VI.—1. *A Treatise on Insanity, and other Disorders affecting the Mind.* By JAMES COWLES PRICHARD, M. D., F. R. S., &c. &c. London. 1835.

2. *On Insanity; its Nature, Causes, and Cure.* By WILLIAM B. NEVILLE, Esq., of Earl's Court House. London. 1836.

3. *Observations on the Principal Medical Institutions of France, Italy, and Germany.* By EDWIN LEE, Member of the Royal College of Surgeons. London. 1835.

4. *Annual Reports of the Lunatic Hospitals in the United States.*

INSANITY, or the derangement of the mental faculties by disease, has always been a matter of interesting inquiry to reflecting men. Of late, however, it has awakened more general attention; and its causes, and methods of cure and prevention, have become of such serious interest, that no apology need be offered for devoting some pages to the subject.

There is reason to apprehend, that insanity is increasing in this, and all civilized countries; that the very freedom of our government and of our institutions, by opening to every individual the avenues to wealth, office, and distinction, by creating competition, and increasing the mental activity and excitement of all classes, tends to produce this most deplorable malady. "The more there is of liberty," says M. Pariset, physician to the largest lunatic hospital in the world, "the more numerous are the chances of mental derangement; though this does not prevent our allowing, that liberty is favorable also to the expansion of human reason."

As M. Esquirol remarked many years ago, insanity belongs almost exclusively to the civilized races of men. It is nearly unknown in savage and barbarous nations. Baron Humboldt informed Dr. Rush, that he did not hear of a single instance of this disease among the uncivilized Indians of South America. Other travellers assure us it is very rare among the Indians of North America. There is but little insanity among the uneducated blacks of Africa, of the West Indies, and of this country. Dr. Winterbottom says, "Mania

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seldom or never occurs among the African tribes near Sierra Leone. I could not make them comprehend the meaning of the term, though they were acquainted with the delirium of drunkenness." Inquiry was made during the last session of Congress, of several members from the slave-holding States, respecting the frequency of insanity among the blacks. These gentlemen said it was extremely rare. Some of them had never heard of a single case. In countries where the government is despotic, where there is but little mental excitement among the mass of the people, the intellectual faculties are inactive, and the passions torpid; and here are but few cases of insanity. Travellers inform us, that madness is an uncommon disease in Russia, though it prevails more in the large towns than among the peasantry of the country. There is but little in Spain and Portugal, though according to Sir A. Halliday, malformations of the head, and idiocy, are common in both countries. The inhabitants of China appear to be nearly exempt from this disease. Dr. Scott, who accompanied Lord McCarthy in his embassy to that country, heard but of a single instance. It is uncommon in Persia, Hindostan, and Turkey. Dr. Madden, in his Travels in Turkey, after remarking, that "in countries where the intellect is most cultivated, there insanity is most frequent," adds, "there is no nation where madness is so rare as in Turkey, where the people of all others think the least."

The mere excitement of the passions, however, of a savage uncivilized race of men, seldom produces derangement of the mental faculties, unless the brutal ferocity they manifest towards their enemies may be so considered; but in the communities where the mass of the people have received some intellectual culture, whatever strongly affects the mind, whatever greatly excites the feelings and passions, hopes and fears, whether it be political or religious commotions and revolutions, or sudden loss or accession of fortune, disposes many to insanity. Esquirol says it was frightfully increased during the first French Revolution; that even women strongly affected by the events of that exciting time, bore children whom the slightest cause rendered insane. Dr. Rush tells us it was rendered more frequent in the United States by our war of independence.

The reformation of Luther much augmented it on the continent of Europe, and the revolution of the early part of the

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sixteenth century in England. Esquirol says, that during the late wars of France, the number of the insane was increased at each departure of the conscripts, either among the conscripts themselves or their parents and friends. When France was invaded by the allied army, terror multiplied the disease among the French, and German writers make the same observation respecting its increase in Germany, when the French entered that country.

The noted South Sea scheme in England, about 1720, when large fortunes were suddenly made and lost, when all minds were intensely agitated with hopes and fears, multiplied the inmates of madhouses. And it is a curious fact, that more were made crazy by the sudden acquisition of great wealth, than by the loss of it.

Peculiarities of insanity, or the particular delusions of the insane, are determined by the state of general intelligence, or by the kind of excitement that produced the disease. Thus during the ignorance and superstition of the middle ages, the belief was universal that mankind were in the power of evil spirits or demons, and *demonomania* was a common form of insanity. In modern times the belief in demons, and the fear of them, has generally subsided; but the fear of the power of the government, of the police, and the prison, has increased, especially in Europe. Esquirol remarks, that in France many are now sent to the lunatic hospitals, whom the fear of the police has made crazy, that would in former times have been hung because they feared the devil.

Any event that excites much feeling in the community, will be sure to produce some cases of insanity. Such was the consequence of the excitement a year or two since, respecting the removal of the government funds from the Bank of the United States. We witnessed one case. The individual affected was not in any way personally interested in the occurrence; but was excited by reading and talking upon the subject to such a degree, that he forsook his usual business, and sallied forth on a crusade through the country, to instruct the people. When Napoleon made and unmade kings and queens with great rapidity, kings and queens increased in the French madhouses. When the Pope came to Paris, an event that excited the religious community of that country, cases of religious insanity became more numerous. "So great has been the influence of our political commotions,"

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says Esquirol, "that I could give the history of France from the taking of the Bastile to the last appearance of Bonaparte, by that of the insane in the hospitals, whose delusions related to the different events of that long period of history."

Insanity has increased as knowledge and the arts of civilized life have advanced, and is now most prevalent in the countries most enlightened and free. The exact number of the insane of any country is not known, as in none have they been enumerated in such a manner as to insure correctness. In some countries, those only are reckoned that are in the public institutions, or in some way supported at the public expense. In others, in addition to such, those that are known to the magistrates, clergymen, or physicians of the different districts, are also enumerated. But in this way, many would undoubtedly be omitted, as families usually endeavour to conceal, as long as possible, the fact that one of their number is deranged in mind. According to the most recent estimates, there is in France *one* insane person to 1000 of the population,

" Wales,	"	"	800	"
" England,	"	"	782	"
" Scotland,	"	"	574	"

These statements show, that insanity is very prevalent in France and England; yet they are, we apprehend, considerably too low. Dr. Prichard, the latest, the most elaborate, and in our opinion the most able writer on insanity, speaking of the number of lunatics in France, observes; "Unfortunately no satisfactory sources of information on this subject exist, and France is much behind England and some other countries, in all the materials for statistical researches on the frequency of mental derangement." He believes the estimate for England much too low; and the following facts appear to confirm his opinion. The Quakers, or Society of Friends in England, have accurate knowledge of the insane belonging to their society. From statements furnished by themselves, it appears there is *one* insane person to 358 of their number. When it is considered, that there are but few cases of religious insanity among the Quakers, and extremely few from intemperance, and that there are no known causes for a greater frequency of this disease with them, than the other inhabitants of England, we are forced to the conclusion, which Mr. Tuke, of the Retreat near York, and Dr. Prichard appear to have come to, "that the returns of the number of the insane for

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the rest of England are too incorrect to afford fair ground for the estimates that have been made, while the knowledge of each other which prevails among the Quakers, brings nearly all the cases which occur among them into the calculation."

That the estimates for France and England are too small, is rendered probable from the fact, that in other countries, where more care has insured greater accuracy, the number of the insane has been ascertained to be considerably greater than in either of those countries. The statistics of insanity in the Prussian Provinces on the Rhine, are more accurate than those of England or France, though the learned Dr. Jacobi thinks they are far from correct. According to this writer, there is in these provinces *one* insane person to 666 of the population.

But the most complete statistical accounts that exist of the deranged persons of any country, are those of Norway ; and these exhibit *one* case of insanity to 551 of the population. Still most of the known causes of this disease prevail to even greater extent in England and France than in Norway, and we have no other way of accounting for the difference in the above estimates, than by supposing those of the former countries to be very inaccurate.

We have no means of determining the number of the insane in Russia and other northern countries, or in Italy, Spain, and Portugal. From all we can learn on this subject, we believe the disease to be much less frequent in these countries than in France, England, Germany, and the United States. According to M. Brière, who recently visited the lunatic establishments of Italy, only *one* case of insanity is found to 4879 of the population. That there has been but little of the disease in Spain, we infer from the fact, that, but a few years since, the Hospital for Lunatics at Madrid contained but 60 patients, and that at Cadiz only 50.

In the foregoing accounts of the number of the insane, probably some idiots are included. Indeed, it is often very difficult to distinguish insanity from idiocy, as the former frequently passes into the latter, in a gradual and imperceptible manner. Thus a person may be insane one month, and the next be idiotic.

The statistics of insanity in the United States are less complete than those of Europe. In many of the States nothing is known upon the subject, no measures having as yet been

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adopted to ascertain the number of the insane. A few of the States have made some partial investigations; but the object of these has generally been to ascertain if the insane were sufficiently numerous, and their situation sufficiently necessitous, to require the assistance of the state for their support. That there was such a number, and such want, has soon been ascertained, and then further investigations ceased.

A committee of the legislature of the State of New York, appointed to examine this subject, reported in 1831, that there were then in that State 2695 lunatics and idiots, or one to 713 of the population. Of this number the committee considered *five eighths* to be idiots. In 1821, the great number of recent cases of insanity in Connecticut, led a few medical gentlemen to attempt ascertaining the whole number of the insane in the State, and to devise the means of providing an Hospital for their reception and cure. "To obtain information," they say in their published Report, "circulars were sent into every town in the State, addressed to clergymen, physicians, and other respectable gentlemen, requesting returns of the number of the insane, their ages, sex, cause of disease, &c. The returns in answer to these circulars, although many of them were very imperfect, satisfied the committee that at least *one thousand* individuals within the limits of the State were mentally deranged, and that the condition of most of them was truly deplorable." As the population of the State was at that time 275,202, this would be *one* insane person to 275 of the population; a proportion so great that we suppose some idiots were included; though we know it was the decided opinion of Dr. Todd, the late distinguished physician to the Connecticut Retreat for the Insane, whose means of information on this subject were better than those of others, that *one thousand* was not above the actual number of the insane in the State of Connecticut.

In Massachusetts insanity appears also to be very common. Dr. Parkman, of Boston, stated in 1818, that 541 insane persons had come to his knowledge in that State, though he supposed he had heard but of part. In 1833, a committee of the legislature of that State reported they had ascertained that in 68 towns, containing a population of 264,327, there were 168 insane persons and 111 idiots, *in confinement in jails, almshouses, and houses of correction.* This would afford above 600 insane and idiotic persons in confinement in the State, if we

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assign as many in proportion to the rest of the population. But it is probable only a small part are thus confined; and no doubt an accurate inquiry would exhibit more than double or triple that number. From considerable knowledge of portions of Massachusetts, we are confident, that at the time referred to, not more than one fourth, or one third, of the insane and idiotic were in the places of confinement alluded to by the committee.

In New Hampshire, it appears from recent inquiries that insanity is nearly as prevalent. A committee of the legislature of that State reported, during the present year, 350 insane persons in the State, exclusive of idiots. We are informed that the committee, who made the report, were of opinion this estimate was too low. But this number exhibits *one* case of insanity to 800 of the population; and if we add as many idiots in proportion to the insane, as there are in the State of New York, there would be *one* crazy or idiotic person to 300 inhabitants.

A select committee of the legislature of the State of Vermont recently reported, that there were, in 59 towns, 60 insane males and 84 females, making a total of 144, of whom 45 are town paupers, and 40 are poor and destitute. This committee estimate the whole number of the insane in the State, exclusive of idiots, at 300, or *one* to 1000 inhabitants.

These statistics respecting insanity, though few and imperfect, show, that the disease is alarmingly prevalent in this country, especially in the northern States of the Union. We believe it is not equally so in those of the south and west, though our means of judging are not such as to enable us to speak confidently.

From a review of these facts respecting insanity in some of the States, we can hardly avoid the conclusion, that the disease has of late considerably increased. This conclusion is supported by the fact, that within a few years several large establishments for the accommodation of lunatics have been opened and almost immediately filled, while the numbers in the older ones have not diminished, but on the contrary considerably increased. Previous to October, 1818, there was no public institution exclusively for the reception of lunatics in the New England States. At that time the McLean Asylum at Charlestown, Massachusetts, was opened. April 1st, 1824, the Connecticut Retreat for the Insane went into

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operation; and in January, 1833, the Massachusetts State Lunatic Hospital at Worcester was completed, and commenced receiving inmates. Each of these hospitals is now, and for some time past has been full, and obliged to refuse many applications for admission. But, besides these public institutions, there are several private asylums for lunatics in these two States, and many are yet confined in almshouses; and in Connecticut some are in jails, and in the State Prison. Undoubtedly the erection of these hospitals, their success in curing the disease, and other causes have contributed to make cases of insanity more generally known of late years, and therefore the increase may not be so great as it appears; still, as Dr. Prichard observes, respecting the increase of insanity in Europe, "the apparent increase is everywhere so striking, that it leaves on the mind a strong suspicion that cases of insanity are far more numerous than formerly; and this suspicion can only be removed by a series of observations that may prove the negative. It is also encouraged by the reflection that the state of society is in most countries such, as appears likely to multiply the exciting causes of madness."

That insanity is now a very frequent disease in some parts of this country, may be evidenced in another way, namely, by ascertaining the number of new cases that occur in one year in a known population. The State of Massachusetts having two public hospitals for lunatics, (one of them for pauper lunatics, and both popular and well conducted,) it is probable that a majority of the cases, that now occur in that State, are sent to one or the other of these institutions. We say a majority, as we do not believe that all, or that nearly all, are. Into these two institutions there have already been received, or have applied for admission, *one hundred and seventeen* patients belonging to Massachusetts, who became crazy in the year 1835. When we consider, that there are one or two private asylums in that State which receive insane patients, that the House of Industry at Boston usually contains a considerable number, and that the Connecticut Retreat has received eight from Massachusetts who became crazy in the same year, together with the fact that these hospitals are still receiving, occasionally, more patients who became deranged during the same year, but have remained with their friends, we are obliged to conclude that insanity is a common disease in that State. *One hundred and twenty-four* cases are known

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to have occurred in the year 1835, as that number has been received into three institutions; and it is not probable that this is much more than half, as friends, for various reasons, are often opposed to sending their relations from home when deranged. That some belonging to that State, who became deranged in 1835, recovered without going to any institution, and some still remain deranged with their relatives, are facts within our knowledge.

If for many years there have occurred 124 new cases of insanity annually in Massachusetts, the success in curing the insane, without hospitals for their reception, must have been greater than it is with them, or else at the present time there are more than 1000 insane persons in the State.

It may be said that many have died. But it should be recollected that insanity is not a disease very dangerous to life. M. Desportes informs us, that among the lunatics at the *Salpetrière* and the *Bicêtre* in France, 12 patients have been there in a deranged state from 50 to 60 years, 20 upwards of 40, and a vast number more than 20 years. The records of the lunatic hospitals in this country exhibit similar facts. In the Massachusetts State Lunatic Hospital are several cases that have existed 30 years, and many of persons that have been deranged 15 and 20 years. The last Report of the Asylum for the relief of persons deprived of the use of their reason, at Frankford, near Philadelphia, states, that of the 46 patients now in the Asylum, 15 have been insane above 20 years. The Report of the committee of the legislature of New Hampshire states, that the average period of the existence of the disease in the 350 insane now in that State, is between 13 and 14 years.

From these facts, we cannot well avoid the conclusion that insanity is now much more frequent than formerly. But whether this is correct or not, the foregoing statements cannot fail to awaken attention to the importance of adopting early measures for the cure of the disease, when it does occur.

And it is gratifying to be able to state, that no fact relating to insanity appears better established, than the general certainty of curing it in its early stage. The following statements render this evident. Dr. Willis, in his evidence before a committee of Parliament in 1789, averred, that *nine* out of *ten* cases of insanity recovered, if placed under his care within three months from the first attack. Dr. Burrows has

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reported, from his own experience, 221 cures out of 242 recent cases, affording a proportion of 91 in 100. Dr. Ellis, director of the York West Riding Lunatic Asylum in England, stated in 1827, that of 312 patients, admitted within three months after the commencement of the insanity, 216 recovered.

Mr. Tuke, of the Retreat near York, observes, "According to the result of our experience, I should say the probability of recovery from uncombined insanity, in recent cases, is somewhat greater than *nine* to *one*." Several other hospitals for lunatics in England, established within a few years, have been equally successful in curing recent cases of insanity.

Some of the asylums of this country are not behind those of England in this respect. By the Report of the Bloomingdale Asylum, near New York, it appears, that of 125 recent cases, received during the last two years, 93 were cured. At the Connecticut Retreat at Hartford, previous to the 1st of April, 1836, there had been received 328 recent cases, of which 274 recovered. The last Report of the superintendent of the McLean Asylum at Charlestown, Massachusetts, states, that from May 1st to December 31st, 39 recent cases were received, of which number 32 had been cured. So large a proportion of recoveries has surprised many, especially medical men on the continent of Europe; and some have believed it could be explained only by supposing that patients were discharged at a very early period after apparent recovery, or during an intermission of the insanity which occasionally occurs. We are inclined to believe that this is sometimes the case, as we have known cases, reported cured, in a short time relapse, and others pronounced well that were but improved. It is much to be regretted that any institution of this kind, from anxiety to report a great number of recoveries, or from any other motive, should dismiss as cured, any who are not so, or any who have not remained a considerable time after apparent recovery.

Again; in some institutions many are received, whose insanity is caused by the immoderate use of intoxicating drinks. Such cases, as Dr. Prichard remarks, "are in general to be reckoned among the cases most easily cured, for although this is not uniformly the fact, it often happens that when the exciting cause is removed, the effect begins to lessen, and eventually ceases. When these patients are prevented from

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obtaining stimulating liquors, and are treated with sedative remedies, they quickly show signs of amelioration and of the subsidence of the disease." This may perhaps explain why, in some of the institutions of England and of this country, the cures of recent cases of insanity have been more numerous than in the institutions on the continent of Europe. Intemperance, in this country and in England, is reported to be a very frequent cause of insanity; but, according to M. Esquirol, it is not so in France, even among the lower classes. Among 336 lunatics in his establishment, there were only *three* who appeared to have lost their reason through the habit of intoxication. Still the uniform testimony of all lunatic hospitals is, that a large majority of the recent cases of insanity are cured; and in contrast with this, is the fact, that those of long standing are exceedingly difficult to cure.

According to an official statement to Parliament, by Doctor Vietch, out of 152 old cases, only 5 were cured. Dr. Ellis says, that at the York West Riding Asylum, of 318 cases that had existed from one to thirty years, only 26 were restored to their reason. M. Esquirol, who from his vast experience is great authority on this subject, observes, that after the insanity has existed *three* years, the probability of cure is scarcely *one* in *thirty*. Of 173 old cases in the Bloomingdale Asylum, New York, in 1835, only 16 were cured. The reason of the incurability of chronic cases appears, from the researches of modern pathologists, to be, that the longer the disease has existed, the more profound the alterations of the brain become. But though the probability of curing old cases is small, compared with those that are recent, yet we ought never to despair of recovery; as many, after having passed eight or ten years in a state of lunacy, have been restored to their reason, and some after having been insane twenty and even forty years.

But there is reason to hope that hereafter, few of the insane will be suffered to remain month after month, and year after year, without measures being adopted for their restoration. Just views respecting the disease now more generally prevail than formerly. It is no longer regarded as a disgrace, or as a disease resulting from some criminal offence. It is now considered a physical disorder, a disease of the brain, and one which can be as readily cured as disease of other organs of the body. But, in order to effect a cure, it

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is often necessary to remove the patient from his home, and separate him from his relatives and former associates. We say it is often necessary, for undoubtedly there are cases that would not be benefited by this course, and some that would be aggravated by it. Quite recent cases may frequently be cured without seclusion. Broussais refers to a great number of cures effected by active treatment alone in the commencement of the disease. On the necessity of seclusion, M. Esquirol remarks, in a late publication; "Confinement should not be prescribed for all insane persons; for, if the delirium is partial or transitory; if it relates only to objects of indifference, and is unaccompanied with violent passion; if the patient has no aversion to his home, nor to the persons with whom he lives, and his delirium is independent of domestic habits; if his real or imaginary causes of excitement are not to be found in the bosom of his family; if the fortune or life of the patient, by retaining a large proportion of his friends, is not compromised, and he submits to the proper means of cure; — in all these cases confinement may be useful, but it is not indispensable. But if the patient, retaining a large portion of his intellect, has a great attachment to his relations, it is to be feared that confinement might aggravate the disease." But such cases are much less frequent than those that require seclusion and separation from friends and home. This renders hospitals for the insane necessary, and we rejoice to find they are rapidly multiplying in this and all civilized countries.

Asylums for the insane are of modern origin. In fact, all public hospitals for the sick and poor may be so considered, as they originated with the Christians of the third or fourth century. But long after those suffering from other diseases were received into hospitals and provided with medical assistance, lunatics were neglected, and perished in great numbers. Some of the most furious were confined in small cells, or shut up in convents and dungeons, while others were burned as sorcerers, or as possessed of demons. Those that were tranquil were permitted their liberty, abandoned however to neglect, — to the abuse and the laughter, or to the ridiculous veneration of their fellow creatures.

But about the commencement of the seventeenth century, lunatics began to be received into the general hospitals, where they were confined in the most obscure corners of the buildings, and received no medical aid. Soon after this, in some

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of the large towns of France, a few separate but poorly conducted hospitals were provided for the insane, though the greater part still remained at liberty, or were confined in the general hospitals. It was not until 1792, when M. Pinel was appointed physician in chief to the Bicêtre at Paris, that correct views respecting the treatment of the insane began to prevail, and to be reduced to practice. At this institution, when M. Pinel took charge of it, were a large number of lunatics considered incurable. Many of them being very furious, were kept constantly chained. This illustrious physician, after having in vain solicited the government to allow him to unchain these maniacs, finally went in person to the authorities, and advocating, with much warmth and earnestness, the removal of this monstrous abuse, obtained permission to do as he pleased respecting them. Great fears were entertained for the personal safety of M. Pinel, should he undertake to unchain them. This, however, he resolved to do. The first man on whom he tried the experiment was one of the most furious, who had been in chains forty years, and had already killed one keeper by a blow with his manacles. Pinel entered his cell unattended, and offered to remove his chains and permit him to walk in the court, if he would promise to behave well and injure no one. "Yes, I promise you," said the maniac. His chains were then removed, and the keepers retired leaving the door of his cell open. "He raised himself," says the son of the celebrated Pinel, in a paper read at the Academy of Sciences, "many times from his seat, but fell again on it, for he had been in a sitting posture so long that he had lost the use of his legs. In a quarter of an hour he succeeded in maintaining his balance, and with tottering steps came to the door of his dark cell. His first look was at the sky, and he cried out enthusiastically, 'How beautiful!' During the rest of the day he was constantly in motion, walking up and down the staircases, and uttering short exclamations of delight. In the evening he returned of his own accord into his cell, where a better bed than he had been accustomed to had been prepared for him, and he slept tranquilly. During the two succeeding years which he spent at the Bicêtre, he had no return of his furious paroxysms, but even rendered himself useful, by exercising a kind of authority over the insane patients, whom he ruled in his own fashion."

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In the course of a few days, Pinel released fifty-three maniacs from their chains. The result was happy beyond his hopes. Tranquillity and harmony succeeded to tumult and disorder; and, by the aid of continued mild and judicious treatment, the most furious became calmer and more tractable, and many were restored to perfect health of body and mind. This transaction caused much sensation, not only in France, but throughout the civilized world, and created a revolution in the treatment of this unfortunate but hitherto neglected portion of our fellow creatures. To M. Pinel is unquestionably due the great credit of first employing judicious, systematic, moral means in the cure of the insane.

At present there are in France many large institutions for the reception and cure of lunatics. Among the most celebrated are the *Salpétrière* and the *Bicêtre*, and the *Maison Royale de Charenton*. The former, at the southeastern extremity of Paris, is composed of several buildings, enclosing spacious gardens and grounds for exercise. This is for the accommodation of females only. It usually contains about 1000 lunatics. These are divided into three classes, the curable, incurable, and idiotic. M. Pariset has the medical superintendence of the curable class. The Bicêtre, about two leagues from Paris, receives only males. It usually has from 350 to 400 patients. Here are also spacious grounds for exercise, and a farm where many of the patients are employed much of the time. The Maison Royale de Charenton, a short distance from Paris, is exclusively appropriated to the reception of the insane of both sexes, and contains 600 beds. Besides these, there are others in the vicinity of Paris and in many of the large towns of France, some public and some private, but all under good regulations and well conducted.

In London, so early as 1553, lunatics were received into the Bethlem Hospital, a Royal foundation for lunatics, incorporated by Henry VIII. This hospital has been rebuilt several times, and enlarged. It is now a noble brick building, 580 feet in length, with accommodations for 400 patients. It cost about £100,000, and has an annual income of £18,000. St. Luke's Hospital, another institution in London for the reception of lunatics, originated in 1732. The present building, though commenced in 1751, was not completed until 1786, at an expense of £55,000. It is a solid

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brick edifice, 500 feet in length, and accommodates 300 patients. This hospital has an annual income of £ 9,000.

Both these old establishments are quite defective, as they are without the useful appendage of spacious grounds and workshops, for the exercise and employment of the patients. In other parts of England, in Ireland, and Scotland there are many well-arranged and well-conducted lunatic establishments. Among the most celebrated, are the Wakefield Asylum for the West-Riding of York, and the Lancaster Asylum, in England; the Richmond Asylum at Dublin; and the Glasgow Lunatic Asylum in Scotland. But there are several others, more recently established, equally well conducted. Most of these institutions can accommodate from two hundred to three hundred patients. Workshops are generally attached to them, and twenty or thirty acres of land, where the patients are much of the time employed at their trades, or in agriculture. In addition to such public institutions, private ones, for the accommodation of a limited number of lunatics, are numerous in England. Often one such receives only those of the same sex. Some of them are fitted up with great elegance, with every thing desirable for the safety and welfare of the patients, affording to them all the advantages of a secluded private residence, with large, airy, and commodious apartments, beautiful gardens and grounds for exercise and amusement, together with experienced and careful medical superintendence.

In many of the other states of Europe, hospitals for the insane have been provided. Some of them are well, and others badly conducted. In the Netherlands, according to Halliday, much attention has been paid to the relief and comfort of the insane. At Ghent are several public establishments, and one private, for their accommodation. At Antwerp there is an excellent hospital for lunatics. It was built about thirty years since, and usually has between two hundred and three hundred patients. With this is connected the celebrated and singular establishment at Gheil, which, with perhaps some modifications, might be adopted with advantage in this country. It consists of a village, or a number of detached cottages, far removed from other habitations. These buildings are occupied by peasants of good character, who receive lunatics,—mostly those that are convalescent,—treat them with great kindness, and employ them in the cultivation of the land.

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Each patient is obliged to labor a certain number of hours every day when able; and when not so employed, is allowed to walk about without restraint. Scarcely any accident occurs, and very few attempt to escape. The recoveries here have been so numerous and rapid, that the fame of the institution has extended far, and many persons of distinction have been sent to it for recovery.

In Bavaria and Saxony, much has been done by government for the welfare of the insane. In Denmark and Sweden there are several lunatic hospitals. Those in the former, and especially the one at Copenhagen, merit high commendation. Many of the large towns of Italy have one or more Asylums for lunatics. At Milan there is a well-conducted lunatic hospital, containing near five hundred patients, most of whom are employed in gardening and in manufacturing clothing. At Genoa, part of the Hospital of Incurables is given up to the insane. About two hundred and fifty are kept here in a wretched condition. When we visited this establishment in 1829, though the sexes were in different wards, all varieties and degrees of insanity were congregated together. From fifty to one hundred were in one room, most of them chained to their beds by their wrists and ancles. When we entered the women's ward, the inmates were eating; and, perhaps excited by the entrance of strangers, their fury exceeded any thing of the kind we ever witnessed. Mingled with the clashing of chains, were groans, and curses, and prayers, and shouts of laughter. Every individual appeared excited. Some came the length of their chains, and strained every muscle to break them; others threw at us, with their utmost strength, the little pittance they were eating; while others, a little less furious, beckoned to us, and besought us to look at some coarse pictures they had drawn on the wall, or at some rags they had fantastically put together. Throughout this vast Pandemonium, we saw not one that appeared tranquil, or in the way of recovery. We were told they received but little medical treatment, and were not allowed to leave their wards until death released them.

At Florence, the average number of the insane in the *Spedale di Bonifacio*, the hospital appropriated to them, is about three hundred. The patients are clothed alike, in white woollen dresses, and have their apartments kept very neat. When it becomes necessary to confine a patient, his hands

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are placed in a wooden case, and bound to the abdomen by a strap around the body. Furious patients are confined in dark rooms with well-padded walls. The darkness is thought to be very serviceable in rendering them more tranquil. The management of this institution appears to be good. Many of the male patients are employed in gardening, or at their trades, and the women in knitting and spinning. At Rome, the hospital for lunatics consists of two separate buildings, one for each sex. The number of patients is about 400. The most furious are confined by chains. All varieties of insanity are mixed together, and no moral measures are resorted to in their treatment. At Naples is the celebrated Aversa, an hospital for lunatics. The sexes are here in different buildings, above 200 in each. Great regularity prevails throughout the institution. On ringing a bell, the patients rise, breakfast with decorum, and the more quiet are present at religious worship. Though the advantages of this institution are said to have been exaggerated, it is the most extensive and best regulated hospital for the insane in Italy.

In Germany, some of the lunatic hospitals are well conducted, and others not so. At the one in Berlin, containing 150 patients, no moral treatment appears to be adopted. There being no grounds for exercise, the patients are constantly confined to the house. At *Sonnenstein*, about four leagues from Dresden, there is a government establishment for insane patients, and the most celebrated and best conducted institution in Germany, if not in Europe. It consists of an ancient castle, situated on a hill, with extensive adjacent grounds. The number of patients is about 200; most of whom are occupied in good weather out of doors, in walking about the grounds, cultivating flowers, digging, &c. The women have a flower-garden in their department, which serves to occupy and amuse many of them; and others sew, knit, and spin. None are confined to the house; even the most furious patients are allowed to walk about with the others, with cloaks that conceal the apparatus that confines their hands. This measure is said to tranquillize them more than any thing else. The whole establishment is kept extremely neat, and contains workshops, a saloon of amusement, with books, a piano, draught boards, and a billiard room. At a distance from the large building, in a lovely garden at the base of the hill, is the house for the convalescents, fur-

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nished with musical instruments, and other things for the amusement of those who are recovering.

A few miles from Bonn is another excellent hospital for lunatics, on the same plan as the one at *Sonnenstein*. It contains about 200 patients. Dr. Jacobi is the superintending physician, and resides in an adjoining house.

In the United States, hospitals exclusively for the insane are of quite recent origin. That established by the Society of Friends near Frankford, in the vicinity of Philadelphia, in 1817, may be considered the first; though a separate building was allotted to those at the New York Hospital in 1808. But previous to this, the general hospitals of Philadelphia and New York received lunatics. Ever since the establishment of the Pennsylvania Hospital in 1752, lunatics have been received there as patients, though not until 1796 was a part of the building exclusively appropriated to them. At this time, upwards of seventy rooms were opened for their accommodation. From its establishment in 1752 until 1836, 4116 lunatics have been received, of which number 1349 have been cured, 810 have been relieved, and 548 have died. More than twice as many males as females have been admitted to this hospital.

In May, 1817, the *Friends' Lunatic Asylum* was opened for the reception of patients. This Asylum is situated in a healthy and retired neighbourhood, about six miles northeast from Philadelphia, and one mile west from Frankford. A farm is connected with it, of sixty-two acres, about one fourth of which is woodland. The original cost of the main building, which is of stone and 320 feet in length, was $43,000, and of the farm, $6760. Since then, some additions have been made to both. Previous to the year 1834, none were admitted but those in membership or profession with the Society of Friends; but, since then, others not in connexion with the Society have been admitted. About 500 patients have been received and treated at this institution, since it went into operation. By the last Report for 1835–6, it appears that 51 patients have been admitted into the Asylum during the year, which, with the 57 in the institution previously, make 108, being an increase of twenty over the preceding year, and greatly exceeding the numbers that have been there in any previous year.

The New York Hospital was opened for the reception of

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patients in 1791. Apartments were then appropriated to lunatics; but the accommodations being inconvenient, a new and separate building was erected in the immediate vicinity of the general hospital, and opened in 1808. This edifice, which cost $ 56,000, contained 64 rooms, and accommodated 70 or 80 patients. A few years after this, with a view of introducing a course of moral treatment for lunatic patients, similar to that pursued at the Retreat near York, in England, the governors of the New York Hospital applied to the Legislature of that State for aid, to enable them to purchase a number of acres of ground near the city, and to erect suitable buildings. An act was passed, in 1816, granting to the Hospital the yearly sum of ten thousand dollars for this purpose, until the year 1857. A piece of ground containing eighty acres, near the Hudson river, about seven miles from the city of New York, was purchased; and on a dry, elevated, and pleasant spot, fronting the Bloomingdale road, the building now called the Bloomingdale Lunatic Asylum, was erected. It was completed in 1821, and to it were immediately removed all the lunatics in the old hospitals in the city. The main building is of stone, three stories high, 211 feet long, and can accommodate 200 patients. There are also other buildings for the more violent. During the past year, about one half of the ground, as it was not wanted for the use of the Asylum, has been sold at a great advance upon the original cost. Previous to the erection of the Bloomingdale Asylum, from 1791 to 1821, there had been received into the wards of the New York Hospital and the old Asylum, 1553 lunatics, of which number 704 were cured, 239 were relieved, 154 died, and 52 were transferred to Bloomingdale. The Bloomingdale Asylum was opened in July, 1821; and, from that time to the end of 1835, received 1915 lunatics; of which number 828 were cured, 399 were relieved, and 146 died. The present number of inmates is 144; 83 males and 61 females; being a greater number than are at any other hospital in this country.

For several years past, the Legislature of the State of New York have had under consideration the necessity of erecting an hospital for the insane poor of the State; and during the last session, they nearly unanimously appropriated $ 60,000 for this purpose. Commissioners were also appointed to fix the location of the buildings, who have recently

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selected a site a few miles above Albany, opposite, but below Troy, and purchased ninety acres of land, to be connected with the asylum. Considering the appropriation already made, and the population of that great State, we presume this will be the largest hospital for lunatics in the United States, and receive the most inmates.

In Massachusetts, the General Hospital was incorporated in 1811. It consists of two departments; an hospital in Boston, and the McLean Asylum for the Insane at Charlestown. It was not, however, until October, 1818, and by the aid of a private donation of unprecedented liberality, by the gentleman whose name it bears, that the Lunatic Hospital was prepared and opened for patients. During the first fifteen years, it received 1015 lunatics, 604 men and 411 women. Of this number, 362 recovered, 283 improved, and 89 died. At present it has 80 patients; 51 males and 29 females.

In 1812, the State of Massachusetts completed a magnificent establishment for lunatics, at Worcester, near the middle of the State. It is called, "The Massachusetts State Hospital for the Insane," and was erected exclusively at the expense of the State. The first appropriation for the buildings was $30,000; the second, for furnishing the hospital and preparing the grounds and out-buildings, was $20,000. Twelve acres of land attached to it were given by the town of Worcester. As originally constructed, the buildings accommodated but 120 patients. Recently, additions have been made, and accommodations will soon be provided for above 200. All patients are supported by themselves, if they have property; if not, by their relatives in the direct line. On failure of these sources, they are supported by the towns where they have a settlement. This hospital is intended for lunatics furiously mad, and dangerous to the peace and safety of the community. This class have the preference; and by the last Report of the institution, we learn that 15 have been admitted, who, previous to their entrance, had actually committed homicide. Town pauper lunatics have the next preference. From its establishment to the present time, three years and nine months, 491 patients have been received, and out of this number only 25 have died. As this institution is obliged to receive the worst class of patients in preference to others, it is not to be expected that the whole number of cures will equal that of other institutions, where those con-

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sidered incurable may be refused. Many, however, whose insanity had been of long duration, have here recovered; and the number of cures in recent cases has been fully equal to that of any other lunatic hospital. The present number of inmates, (October, 1836,) is 138; 79 men, and 59 women. Of this number, 87 have never been married, 35 are married, and 16 are in a state of widowhood.

Great benefits have already resulted from this noble institution, which, as to the general arrangement of the buildings, the treatment of the inmates, and the liberality which furnished this comfortable home for the insane poor, is worthy of the imitation of other States and institutions.

In the State of Connecticut there is an hospital for lunatics, called the *Connecticut Retreat for the Insane*, beautifully situated on rising ground in the vicinity of Hartford. It was erected in part by the funds of the State, and partly by individual donations. It was opened in April, 1824, and at the end of the first year it had 24 inmates. Since then, the number has yearly increased, and at the present time it has 90. Pauper lunatics are seldom sent to this institution, though indigent lunatics, who are inhabitants of Connecticut, whose disease has not exceeded six months, are admitted for two dollars a week; provided, however, the number of such persons in the institution shall at no time exceed *ten*; and provided also, that no individual shall remain in the institution upon these terms over six months. The lowest price for other patients belonging to the State is three dollars and fifty cents a week, and four dollars for those from other States. By the last published Report it appears, that one half of the patients were from other States besides Connecticut. From the opening of this institution on the 1st of April, 1834, to the 1st of April, 1836, 658 patients have been admitted; 325 men, and 333 women. Of the 325 men, 198 had never been married, 122 were married, and 5 widowers. Of the 333 women, 169 were married, 134 single, and 30 widows. The institution is at present about full, though the Directors have it in contemplation to erect additional buildings, and to provide additional comforts and accommodations for insane patients. Of the 658 patients alluded to, 346 have been removed, recovered; 217 have been removed, not recovered; 33 have died, and 62 remain in the institution. The number of cures effected in recent cases, at this Retreat for the Insane, has been already stated.

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Kentucky has the honor of being the first State in the Union to establish, at the expense and under the control of the State, an asylum for pauper lunatics. In the year 1824, a spacious and commodious building was erected at Lexington for their accommodation, at an expense of 30,000 dollars. Since it was opened, 502 patients have been received; 334 males, and 168 females; of which number 190 have died, 219 been discharged, and 93 remained at the commencement of the year 1836. The commissioners, in their last Report, congratulate the Legislature, that their benevolent intentions to provide a secure and comfortable asylum for the afflicted, have been accomplished at comparatively small expense; as the cost to the State, for twelve years, has been but about sixty dollars a year for each patient. The whole expense for 1835 was $5913·62; and the total number of patients was 84 at the commencement, and 93 at the close of the year. Other lunatics besides paupers are admitted; but these pay for their board and attendance. Many of the patients labor a considerable part of the time.

At Columbia, South Carolina, is a well-conducted hospital for lunatics. It was built by the State in 1829, and for several years supported by funds from the State Treasury. Lunatics of South Carolina have the preference over those from other States, and pauper patients over those that pay. The present number of inmates is 54, and an additional wing is now building for the accommodation of more. Most of the cases are of long standing, criminals from the jails, and those who have been for years in poor-houses; of course, but few cures can be expected. On the 1st of January, 1835, there were in the hospital 52 patients; and 20 were received during the year. Of this number 11 were cured, 7 died, and 54 remained at the end of the year.

There is but one hospital for lunatics in the State of Maryland, and that is at Baltimore, connected with the General Hospital. It was built by the State, and incorporated in 1797. It has, at present, accommodations for about 70 lunatics, and is supported by the patients, who pay from three to ten dollars a week, except pauper patients, who pay but one hundred dollars a year; each county in the State having the right to send its pauper lunatics to the Hospital for that price. Though by the act of incorporation it is a general hospital, it has become almost entirely one for lunatics, and the Directors purpose to

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make it exclusively so. The present number of the insane at this hospital is 50; 17 of whom are paupers, from various parts of the State. This hospital is under the immediate care and management of the *Sisters of Charity*, an order of Catholic nuns, whose duty is to take charge of the sick. They are twelve in number, who attend here; one of whom is Superior, and performs the duties of a steward.

There are two hospitals for lunatics in the State of Virginia; one at Williamsburg, which has 60 or 70 patients, and one at Staunton, with 30 or 40.

We are informed that there is one for the reception of insane persons in the State of North Carolina, and one recently erected at Nashville, Tennessee. The State of Louisiana has no hospital exclusively for lunatics; but they are received into the Charity Hospital at New Orleans.

In Ohio, a spacious hospital for lunatics is now building at the expense of the State, at Columbus. The general plan is that of the Massachusetts Hospital at Worcester. The building is to be of brick, three stories high, and, including the wings, 280 feet long; and will accommodate 120 patients and the officers of the institution. It is expected to cost $ 40,000. Thirty acres of land, at sixty-six dollars an acre, have been purchased for the site, one mile northeast of the State-House.

There has, quite recently, one been opened at Brattleborough, in the State of Vermont; though a building exclusively for lunatics has not yet been erected. The legislature of that State appropriated $2000 a year, for five years, for the relief of the insane of the State; and as this was not to be paid until a building was provided for their reception, a house has been purchased for their temporary accommodation. Fifty acres of land, within half a mile of the village of Brattleborough, have been purchased, (including the house now occupied by lunatics,) for $ 6000. Probably a new and commodious building will soon be completed.

The State of Maine, aided by individual donations to the amount of $20,000, is now erecting an hospital for lunatics on an extensive scale, at Augusta in that State.

New Hampshire, we presume, will also soon have an Asylum for the insane. Public meetings, in several of the largest towns, have adopted resolutions in favor of legislative provision for this purpose; and, at the last session of the legislature, the Governor alluded to the subject in his message, and

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a committee, to whom it was referred, reported in favor of speedy action by the legislature in providing an hospital. The whole subject has, however, been referred to the people, who, we presume, will concur in the opinion already generally expressed in that State, in favor of such an institution.

In other States, and in the District of Columbia, public attention begins to be awakened to the importance of having Asylums for the reception and cure of the insane, particularly for the insane poor; and we doubt not but every State in the Union will, within a very few years, be supplied with at least one. Interest will prompt the States to this, if feelings of benevolence do not; for it requires but slight observation to see, that the expense of supporting the insane poor will be much lessened by providing them with a good Asylum.

As we have observed, most cases of insanity can be cured if early and proper remedies are resorted to; among which seclusion, and separation from friends and home, are frequently necessary. If, however, cases are neglected for a few years, they are apt to become incurable. It is also a fact, that in most countries a majority of the insane are poor. The Report of the committee of the legislature of New Hampshire, states, that of 312 lunatics returned, 152 are paupers, now supported at the public expense. Similar facts we learn from other States; and in England, a majority of the insane are paupers. It is true, however, that insanity not unfrequently precedes and causes the poverty. States will, therefore, act wisely in providing Asylums, where the insane poor can be received, and treated properly, and soon restored to society; or, if they are incurable, can be supported at a less expense, and far more comfortably, than in the alms-houses of towns.

The large establishments we have referred to, in Europe and this country, are mostly well arranged, well conducted, and creditable to the wisdom and philanthropy of the age. They are not, however, in our opinion, so well adapted for the cure and the comfort of the insane, as smaller ones. We are inclined to believe that government establishments would be much better, if composed of a number of buildings, situated at considerable distance from each other; so that the insane might be properly classified, and one class never see or hear the other; and also, where the convalescents might be entirely separated from the rest. The sexes certainly should be in different buildings, remote from each other; and the hospital

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for females, under the constant supervision of a lady of high character for fidelity and intelligence; and no visitors allowed, not even the officers of the institution, without her permission and attendance. Idiots should be wholly excluded from hospitals for the insane. It is painful to behold patients, partially insane, who have received good education and been accustomed to intelligent associates, confined in the same place, and in fact classed, with idiots totally destitute of mind. It cannot fail of having an injurious effect upon the former, and can be of no service whatever to the latter. The incurably insane should also be perpetually separated from the curable, and the latter never know of the former.

The best Asylums for the insane are those that receive but 30 or 40 patients, only those of the same sex; and to which are attached extensive gardens and grounds for exercise. Public establishments ought always to have considerable land and workshops connected with them. Labor is often quite an essential aid in the cure of those, who have previously been accustomed to it. Patients belonging to the wealthier class, who have never been used to manual labor, require pleasure-grounds, carriages, and horses, for exercise and amusement.

Too much attention cannot be given by the proper authorities to the prevention of abuses in lunatic hospitals. There are no institutions where abuses are more likely to arise; none where they are more difficult to detect. This the history of such institutions, in England and other countries, but too painfully testifies. Some patients are frequently so violent and vindictive, that it requires great command of temper in their overseers not to retaliate sometimes; while others, instigated by appetite and passion, increased by their insanity, are perpetually on the watch to seduce those appointed to guard them, from their duty. Attendants of the most unblemished moral character, and remarkable for kind disposition, for calmness and intelligence, should be procured, and well instructed in their responsible duties; and be induced by proper compensation to devote themselves perpetually to the care of the insane.

Notwithstanding the attention hitherto given to the subject of insanity, much still remains to be learned. The medical superintendents of the institutions for the insane will have it in their power to add essentially to our knowledge of this important disease. Much, we have no doubt, is yet to be learned by autopsical examinations, made with the carefulness and minute-

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ness which distinguish modern researches in pathology. It is already rendered probable, that in all cases of insanity there are specific alterations of the brain. These, with the symptoms of the disease, should be accurately ascertained and described. At the same time, the treatment adopted, and its effects, should be faithfully recorded, and occasionally made public. It is gratifying, to be sure, to learn from the Reports of Lunatic Asylums, that many of the insane are cured; but surely it would be more gratifying, and of far greater utility to the public, to be informed what were the means which produced such results. Is separation from home, from relatives and acquaintance, all that is required for the cure? If so, this should be known. Many would prefer, and in many cases it would be better, to accomplish this without sending insane patients to large lunatic establishments. If medicines are serviceable, these should be made known, and the cases in which they are necessary described. In this way, such information might be imparted, as would enable many to be restored, at home, at the onset of the disease. We are of the opinion, that in a majority of cases of insanity, proper treatment in the commencement of the disease would remove it; and it will be very unfortunate for the community, if the impression becomes general, that insanity cannot be cured except at Lunatic Asylums. Cases of relapse, and we fear they are not few, should be ascertained as far as possible; and, together with the apparent cause, made known. The public desire the whole truth; and not merely to be informed that a large number of patients were considered cured, and discharged after a short residence in the Hospital. They wish to know how many of these were original cases, how many of them readmissions, what were the means of their restoration, and every particular calculated to throw additional light on the nature and cure of this mysterious disease. In this way, public Asylums, in addition to their present utility, will become valuable schools of instruction for all medical men, and be of incalculable benefit to the country and mankind.

But is the cure of insanity all that can be done to prevent its extension in this country? Cannot the causes of this disease frequently be ascertained and avoided? We believe they may. According to most writers on insanity, *moral causes* are far more operative than physical ones in producing the disease. "The observations," says M. Georget, "which

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I have had it in my power to make, the more numerous ones which I have compared in authors, have convinced me, that among one hundred lunatics, ninety-five at least have become such from the influence of affections and moral commotions. It is an observation become almost proverbial in the Hospital, (the *Salpétrière*,) 'qu'on perd la tête par les revolutions d'esprit.' The first question that M. Pinel puts to a new patient, who still preserves some remains of intelligence, is, 'Have you undergone any vexation or disappointment?' Seldom is the reply in the negative." This opinion derives support from the fact, that the disease mostly occurs at that period of life, when the passions are excited by the strongest interests, and is chiefly confined to the civilized and intellectual communities. Insanity is a disease of the material organ of the mind, the brain; and never occurs unless this organ is affected. It is, therefore, theoretically probable, that moral commotions, mental anxiety, and the excitement of the feelings and passions, which disturb the natural action of the brain, should most frequently produce this disease.

It is, however, extremely difficult to determine with accuracy the cause of insanity in many cases. In examining the records of Lunatic Asylums in this country, we find intemperance in the use of intoxicating drinks mentioned, as a very frequent cause. No doubt it sometimes is; but we are not without suspicion that there is some other primary and predisposing cause, that is essential to the production of insanity in the intemperate. Intemperance has long been, and is now, very prevalent in some countries where there is but little insanity; and the instances are so very numerous of long and habitual intoxication without any tendency to this disease, that our suspicion is strengthened that some other cause predisposes the brain to the disease we call insanity. Intemperance is very common among the negroes and the Indians of this country, yet insanity is rare among them. The few cases of which we have heard among the former, appeared to arise from excitement of mind. Besides, the excessive use of intoxicating drink is not unfrequently the consequence, not the cause, of the mental derangement, and among the first symptoms of the disease. This fact has been often noticed. Still we do not doubt, that some cases are correctly attributed to intemperance; and still less do we doubt, that, as a secondary cause, it is of quite frequent operation, and has much increased this disease of late,

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among the laboring classes in this country and England. When there is an hereditary tendency to insanity, or when the brain has been much disturbed by anxiety and mental excitement, then the use of intoxicating drinks unquestionably tends to develope it; and we have no doubt that very many thus circumstanced would escape the disease, if they would entirely abstain from stimulating drinks.

But altogether the most frequent cause of insanity is hereditary predisposition. Even if one sane generation has intervened, there is not, then, a certainty the next will continue so. It is much to be feared, that if marriages are contracted in disregard of this fact, the numerous cures effected of late will but serve to increase the number of the insane in another generation. In those born of insane parents, much may be done towards preventing the developement of the disease, by attention to their education, both physical and mental. "Predisposition to insanity," says M. Esquirol, "may be traced from the age of infancy; it furnishes the explanation of a multitude of caprices, irregularities, and anomalies, which, at a very early period, ought to put parents on their guard against the approach of insanity. It may furnish useful admonitions to those who preside over the education of children. It is advisable, in such cases, to give them an education tending to render the body robust, and to harden it against the ordinary causes of madness; and particularly to place them under different circumstances, from those with which their parents were environed. It is thus we ought to put in practice the aphorism of Hippocrates, who advises to change the constitution of individuals, in order to prevent the diseases with which they are threatened, by the hereditary predisposition of their family."

Next to hereditary predisposition, mental disturbance, care, anxiety, and faulty education are the most common causes of insanity. In no country, we presume, are these more operative, if as much so, as in this. As has been hinted, the very freedom of our institutions, by creating universal strife, and increasing the mental activity of all classes, causes much insanity. "Great mental activity among all classes, and both sexes, was the most striking characteristic of the people of the United States," noticed by Spurzheim. All are excited, and almost constantly; either on politics, religion, or, more generally, by speculations and projects to acquire wealth. This is not true merely of brokers, dealers in stocks, and merchants, neither is it

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confined to the inhabitants of cities; but into whatever part of the country we go, or with whatever class we mix, we find excitement, speculation, and strife. Our thousands of newspapers, circulating in all parts of the Union, and their exciting articles read by all classes, create and perpetuate mental agitation. Then, their details of crimes, murders, and suicides add to the excitement, and, we are not without strong suspicion, often lead others to the commission of similar acts. We hope, however, that some of these evils, which are perhaps but consequences of our freedom, will correct themselves, and cease to be injurious; that the public mind, like the palate of certain epicures, will cease to be affected by ordinary stimulants.

But we hope more from the proper education of children and females. They are placed, in a good degree, without the vortex of speculation and political strife; and if educated properly, we trust a generation will arise, not liable to be affected by causes that hitherto have deranged and destroyed many. To effect this, however, the utmost pains should be taken to develope the physical powers of children. Premature cultivation of the mind should be avoided. Early excitation of the brain is as dangerous to that organ, as stimulating drink is to the stomach; and of itself is calculated to produce a tendency to nervous diseases, and often to insanity. Females should be educated in such a manner, as to make them robust and healthy. At present, especially in cities, in the large towns and villages of this country, they labor but little, exercise but little, and have become too generally delicate and nervous. This can be remedied only by accustoming them to much exercise in the open air, especially when young; with their bodies untrammelled by ridiculous and constrained dress, and their minds unoccupied, some of the time at least, by tasks and lessons.

Erroneous education is reckoned by many writers among the predisposing causes of insanity. On this subject Dr. Prichard observes,

"There are two different points of view under which the injurious effects of wrong education may be considered. By too great indulgence, and a want of moral discipline, the passions acquire greater power, and a character is formed subject to caprice and to violent emotions; a predisposition to insanity is thus laid in the temper and moral affections of the individual. The exciting causes of madness have greater influence on per-

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sons of such habits, than on those whose feelings are regulated. An overstrained and premature exercise of the intellectual powers, is likewise a fault of education which predisposes to insanity, as it does also to other diseases of the brain. These are two considerations which are of the greatest importance, with respect to the welfare of families to which an hereditary constitution may belong, rendering them more liable than others to cerebral diseases. They are distinct in themselves, and each might furnish a theme for an extensive treatise, most valuable in a practical point of view. Under the first head, it would be necessary to consider the efficacy of those plans of education, of which the professed object is to form a character remarkable for sedateness, for the strict discipline of the feelings, and, as far as this is attainable, of strong passions and emotions. Such, undoubtedly, would be the kind of moral education best adapted for those who are constitutionally liable to insanity. The second remark, on the regulation of mental exercise in young persons, whose nervous systems are feebly constituted, has a more extensive bearing than on the subject of insanity. It brings forward a suggestion which is of very general interest in these times, in which mental exertion is stimulated to the utmost, and too great sacrifices are often made to the cultivation of the intellect, or even to the mere acquisition of knowledge, while the education of the moral affections is considered as a matter of secondary importance."

These observations are deserving of very serious consideration, though they are but hints on subjects that ought to be treated at much greater length.

In conclusion, we hope there is a class of people in this country, and an increasing class, one destined to be the most numerous, who seek enjoyment in the tranquil occupations of life, in such pursuits as those of agriculture, and the study of natural history; who are not ashamed to labor with their own hands, and unite, in due proportion, exercise of body and mind; who, contented with their stations in society, and with a competency, are not perpetually striving for office or wealth. To this course we advise others, for we know not how life can be better spent, or more happiness realized. We hope to see, to be sure, a love of literature and of science increase with this class. All labor of body is not proper; the mind requires exercise also; but it does not require constant excitement, any more than the body does alcoholic drinks. The agriculturist, with a good farm and well-selected library,

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(and books are now so cheap that most persons can afford such,) is supplied with the essential materials for rational enjoyment. A part of his time judiciously devoted to labor, makes him as independent of others as is desirable; while a portion of his leisure passed with books, elevates, purifies, and improves his intellect, and thus he secures to himself health of body and mind.

ART. VII.—1. *My Prisons; Memoirs of* SILVIO PELLICO *of Saluzzo.* Cambridge: Printed by Charles Folsom. 1836. 16mo. pp. 368.

2. *Additions to "My Prisons; Memoirs of Silvio Pellico," with a Biographical Notice of Pellico.* By PIERO MARONCELLI of Forli. Translated from the Italian, under the Superintendence of the Author. Cambridge: Printed by Charles Folsom. 1836. 16mo. pp. 276.

THE writer of an excellent article on Pellico, in the twenty-second Number of the "Foreign Quarterly Review," remarks, that if the work had been "an ordinary invective against Austrian oppression, conceived and executed in the usual perfervid manner of Italian partisanship, it would have been forgotten in a fortnight; but this calm, classical, and moving picture of suffering, insinuates itself irresistibly into the heart, and will long maintain its hold on the memory." The work before us is a proof of the truth of this remark; it is a new translation of Pellico's account of his imprisonment.

It is four years since this sad story was first told in Europe, in accents of such deep and touching pathos, that we seemed to be listening to the voice of one who had passed through the dark valley of the shadow of death; and now, his words are echoed again in America, and,

> "Like to a harp-string stricken by the wind,
> The sound of his lament shall"

sweep over our land, and be heard with deep and thrilling emotion.

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We rejoice that this new translation has been made and published; for, although an English version was prepared in 1833, there still seemed to be sufficient reason for doing the work again. Without intending any disparagement to the London translator's abilities, we may say that his work was fitted rather to satisfy the immediate and urgent demand of English readers, than to do full justice to the style and sentiments of the original. The public were not willing to wait for an elaborate and carefully revised version of a book so full of thrilling interest, and which was addressed not merely to Italy or France, but to the world. But, now that the work has become a classic in the literature of every civilized nation, it seems very desirable that it should be rendered into English with great care and accuracy, and in such a manner as to convey, as far as possible, an idea of the remarkably chaste and elegant style of the original. These objects have been very successfully accomplished in the American translation. It is literal, without being stiff; and while it conveys the thoughts of Pellico, it speaks in the same natural and unaffected style. The work has been executed with great care and fidelity; every word has been weighed and selected, every sentence revised, and the whole discussed and examined by able scholars; so that we know not where a more complete version of any work could be found.

To give our readers, however, an opportunity of judging of the necessity of a new translation, we will lay before them some of the inaccuracies in the English work.

In the first place, there occur through the book numerous additions or interpolations, which destroy the effect of that simplicity for which the original is so remarkable. For instance, on page 86, chapter 35, (we use the London edition of 1833,) the following sentence appears; "And rest satisfied with the acquaintance we had formed, the mutual pleasure we had already derived, and the unalterable good-will we felt toward each other, which resulted from it." Our readers will be surprised to find in the Italian, only the following words; "E ci contentassimo d' esserci conosciuti collo scambio di poche parole, ma indelebili e mallevadrici di alta amicizia;" which are thus rendered in the American translation; "and content ourselves with being known to each other by the exchange of a few words, indelible pledges of strong attachment." Again, chapter 52, page 125, Pellico, describing

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his meeting with Maroncelli, is made to say, "We mutually described our prison walks and adventures, *complimenting each other on our peripatetic philosophy.*" The latter clause of the sentence which we have marked with italics, is entirely an addition by the translator. The sentence in the original, is "Ci confidammo parecchie carcerarie peripezie," and is well translated; "We confided to each other various incidents of our imprisonment." In chapter 59, page 143, the Italian, "Io sono cattivo, o signore," is translated, "No, Sir, I am bad — rank bad." In chapter 79, page 191, we read; "And last not least the innocent badinage of a young Hungarian fruiteress, the corporal's wife, who flirted with my companions." This purports to be a translation of the following sentence; "E per ultimo un innocente amore, — un amore non mio, nè del mio compagno, ma d' una buona caporalina Ungherese, venditrice di frutta." The American translation has it; "And in the last place an innocent attachment, — not on my part, nor on the part of my companion, but on that of a good, simple girl, the daughter of an Hungarian corporal, a fruit-seller."

Many instances occur also of hasty and incorrect translation. In the very first line, there is a mistake in the date. Pellico was arrested on the 13th of October; not the 15th, as we read in the London translation. In chapter 55, page 132, we are told that arriving at Fusina, from Venice, they found two boats waiting for them, and that their guards were "some of them at hand in the boats; others in the box of the vetturino." This account presents a very confused idea of their mode of travelling. Why they should have boats ready at Fusina, where persons arriving from Venice usually change the gondola for a land carriage, and why part of the guards should ride on the box of a vetturino, or coach, while the remaining part went in boats with the prisoners, is extremely difficult to be comprehended; especially when we find, a few lines afterwards, that their journey lay over the Alps, which Hannibal himself would never have thought of crossing in a boat. Upon referring to the original, we find that the English translator has rendered "legni," "boats"; when any one who is at all familiar with colloquial Italian, knows that legno is a general term for land carriage.

In chapter 59, page 143, old Schiller, the jailer of Spielberg, says; "Captain as I am," &c. &c. Though we did

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not doubt that the whole Austrian army were subject to do service as jailers and executioners, we were still somewhat surprised to perceive that the Emperor should actually use his captains for turnkeys; but on looking into the original, we found the words, "Caporale qual sono," "Corporal as I am."

Towards the end of chapter 68, in giving an account of an interview with Schiller, Pellico says that each of them joined his hands and prayed in silence. He then adds; "Ei capiva ch' io facea voti per esso, com' io capiva ch' ei ne facea per me." This is very well rendered in the American version; "He understood that I was praying for him, and I that he was praying for me." But the English translator has it; "He saw it and took my hand with a look of grateful respect." (p. 165.)

In the 71st chapter, Pellico, in giving an account of the daily routine, says; "Un breve intervallo, e ci portavano la colezione. Questa era un mezzo pentolino di broda rossiccia, con tre sottilissime fettine di pane; io mangiava quel pane e non bevea la broda." One would think that a pot of red broth, with three very thin slices of bread, was hard fare enough; but the English translator, refining upon Austrian cruelty, tells us, (page 172,) that the breakfast consisted of "coarse bread and *swill*." In the same chapter, "A certi discorsi non rispondevamo se non pregandoli di tacere," is rendered in the London translation, (page 178,) "Touching upon some topics, they entreated of us to be silent, refusing to give any answer." Pellico has just said that their guards sometimes conversed with them, and then adds the words we have here cited, the meaning of which is, obviously, exactly the contrary of the English translation. They are rendered properly in the new version; "To certain remarks *we* did not reply, except by begging them to be silent." This makes the next sentence intelligible, in which Pellico adds; "It was natural that we should doubt, whether what they said were entirely the overflowing of simple hearts, or whether there were not some artifice in it for the purpose of discovering our thoughts."

Another remarkable error in translation occurs in the 77th chapter, where Pellico, speaking of the ill health of Maroncelli, says; "L' unica idea che mi spaventasse era la possibilità che questo infelice, di salute già assai rovinata, sebbene

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meno minacciante della mia, mi precedesse nel sepolcro." This is translated in the American work; "The only idea which alarmed me was the possibility that my unfortunate friend, whose health was ruined, though his danger seemed less imminent than my own, might precede me to the tomb." But the English translator has it; "The sole idea which tormented me, was the possibility of this excellent friend also being snatched from me; his health having been much broken, so as to threaten his dissolution ere my own sufferings drew to a close." (p. 186.)

In the 78th chapter, "Io m' aspettava di vederlo volgere la finezza del suo ingegno ad indagini sconvenienti," is rather inelegantly translated; "I imagined that we should soon discover him *putting out his feelers* to induce us to make imprudent disclosures." (p. 188.) The American translator has it; "I expected to find him employing the acuteness of his mind in unbecoming investigations."

There is no need of bringing forward other instances of inaccuracy in the English translation. It is not our object to criticize that work; but to give an answer to the inquiry so often repeated, "Why should a new translation of Pellico be made?" We presume we have said enough already, to show, that the American translation, having been made more at leisure, and with great critical minuteness and accuracy, does more justice to the original, and deserves, better than the first version, to stand as the representative of Pellico in the English language.

The volume which we have named in company with "My Prisons," at the head of this article, is, we believe, the first translation into English which has appeared, of Maroncelli's "Additions." This work forms a valuable accompaniment to Pellico's, as it contains many details of great interest respecting the prisoners of Spielberg, and gives us more satisfactory information with regard to the causes of their arrest. Indeed, upon this point Pellico is entirely silent, remarking that, like an ill-treated lover, who keeps aloof from his mistress, he shall leave politics where they are, and speak of other things.

The volume consists of a biographical notice of Pellico; notices of several individuals mentioned in "My Prisons," with further particulars of the sufferings at Spielberg; and an Appendix, containing an account of the massacre of Prina;

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notices of the Counts Porro and Confalonieri; of the "Conciliatore," a periodical, conducted by Pellico and others at Milan; the principles which it defended, and the fate of the individuals connected with it; and, finally, a program of Maroncelli's unpublished works, with a few short poems of his composition.

The Appendix is highly interesting, as giving us a hasty view of the political state of Lombardy, for some years before the arrest of Pellico and the others, and forms a good introduction to "My Prisons." As a picture of the beautiful uprightness and justice of Austrian policy, it is worthy of attention; and, as we are fond of expatiating on the virtues of that enlightened government, we shall endeavour to lay before our readers, in a few words, the history of the manner in which it gained possession of Lombardy, after the downfall of Napoleon. While Eugene Beauharnais was waiting at Mantua, in the expectation that the Senate of Milan would proclaim him king of Lombardy, Count Ghislieri, Aulic Counsellor of the Austrian Emperor, came furtively to Milan, and at the house of one of the old adherents of the House of Austria, formed a conspiracy with several of the rich Lombard proprietors, to attack the Senate on the day when it was proposed to take the vote in favor of Eugene, and intimidate the members from proceeding, by the murder of the minister Prina, and then, before the nomination of Eugene, and before the Senate could recover from its panic, to proclaim the Emperor of Austria as sovereign in Lombardy, and thus win back this fine country to slavery and desolation. The infamous plan proved but too successful. On the appointed day, a vast number of peasants, who had been summoned by the Lombard proprietors from their estates, came flocking to the city. "The mountains about Como," says Maroncelli, "and those that surround Lago Maggiore, and the plains opposite, poured forth in torrents the inhabitants of their villages and shores; a savage, threatening multitude, who may well have asked one of another, 'What crime is it they would buy of us?'" This ferocious mob, having received their watchword from Ghislieri, rushed to the Senate-house, and not finding Prina there, ran to his mansion, seized him, dragged him through the streets, and murdered him. The only persons who dared to oppose them were the Counts Porro and Confalonieri, who mounted their horses, rode into

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the midst of the mob, and endeavoured, by reasoning with them, to check their fury. Finding arguments of no avail, they hastened to Pino, general of the military forces, and besought him to interfere; but motives of prudence restrained him. As a last resort, they applied to the curate of San Fedele, and implored him to appear in procession with the host. "But," says Maroncelli, "the curate was of a poor spirit. He did not feel the mission, and refused;" and the mob pursued their fiendish work.

The Senate was dissolved, and a regency nominated. The first act of the regency was to appoint three commissioners; Baron Trecchi was sent to Lord Bentinck at Genoa; Confalonieri to Paris, where the allied sovereigns then were; and Porro to the Austrian camp beyond the Ticino, to treat with the General Bellegarde. Here he was immediately made prisoner, but had the good fortune to escape soon after. As soon as Bellegarde had arrested him, he broke up the camp and put his troops in motion for Lombardy. Confalonieri's reception by the Austrian Emperor at Paris was not much more favorable. His Majesty was greatly astonished, that his former subjects in Lombardy should dare to think of independence. "Go," said he to Confalonieri, "and say to them that new rights are added to the old ones. While I speak, my armies have reconquered them, and thus they are doubly my property." His words were true; and thus was Lombardy again subjected to the hated tyranny of Austria.

Porro and Confalonieri returned to Milan, to wait in patience for the time to come, when their country should be able again to throw off the yoke, and to endeavour by silent and gentle means to regenerate her. They did every thing in their power to encourage letters, arts, schools, and manufactures, by great personal exertions, and large expenditures in importing foreign machines and improvements of various kinds, with workmen to teach their use.

One of the most important steps which they took in order to accomplish their purposes, was the establishment of a periodical work called the "Conciliatore," of which Silvio Pellico was the editor. The objects of this journal were ostensibly literary and scientific. Men of eminence were engaged to write for it both in Italy and foreign countries, and it appears to have been conducted and supported with great ability. The account which Maroncelli gives of the writers who contributed

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to this paper, the subjects discussed, and the principles of criticism advocated in it, is extremely interesting. It seems, when we are reading the list of fine geniuses whose talents were elicited by this journal, as if the veil which Austrian tyranny has thrown over the mind of Italy were for a moment withdrawn, to show us the brilliant lights which would beam upon the world if that gifted nation were but free. Alas ! this light shone but as the blaze of a meteor, and triple darkness followed its extinction. The journal was continued till 1820, subject to the censorship, when this power was used so arbitrarily that nothing was left of the articles but the title and signature ; which of course, amounted to a complete interdiction, and the journal ceased to exist. The insurrection of the Constitutionalists at Naples took place a few months afterwards, and, being easily quelled, had no other effect than to heighten the rigors of Austrian tyranny. This was displayed in the most signal manner, in the arrest of many of the writers in the Conciliatore. Pellico, as Editor, was peculiarly obnoxious ; he was seized by the police of Milan, in October, 1820, and underwent the long and dreadful imprisonment, of which he has given us an account in his extraordinary book. It does not appear from Maroncelli's account of the "Conciliatore," that politics were treated of to any extent in it ; and, as it was constantly subjected to the censorship, it is certain that nothing very obnoxious to the Austrian government can have appeared on its pages. Maroncelli says of the journal; "It was a logical school of liberty. The Austrian government called it a conspiracy ; and it is most true, that, in a certain sense, every honest effort for social amelioration is a conspiracy ; a conspiracy of the good against the bad, a conspiracy prescribed by the Gospel against all error, prejudice, and iniquity." This however, was enough to alarm Austria ; the objects of the journal were to make the nation wiser, better, and happier, and gradually lead it on to that degree of intelligence, which prepares the way for freedom. The objects of the Austrian government are to render the nation more ignorant and more miserable, and to carry it back, step by step, to the dark ages of oppression and slavery. The power of evil conquered.

In giving an account of the "Conciliatore," Maroncelli introduces his chapter on "Cor-mentalism," which is replete with elevated and fine thought. We regret that the language is so technical, as to repel many, and we are the more sorry, be-

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cause there seems to be a prevailing disposition in many writers of the present day, to fall into the habit of using numerous expressions which do not belong to the "language of humanity." This is a decided error in judgment and taste. That there is, that there must be a gradual change in language cannot be denied; the vocabulary of Chaucer, for instance, would not be comprehensive enough to express all the ideas of the nineteenth century; but it is a mistake in any writer to anticipate such a change. No mind can be so much in advance of the age, as to require a separate vocabulary; and as a matter of taste, as well as kindness to readers, it would seem better occasionally to use a little circumlocution, if necessary, than to depart from the language of the age. The proper source of new words is the general usage of society, where all language has its origin; and, as language was spoken before it was written, so all new words should be allowed to come into vogue in the same way; that is, to be authorized by general use before they appear in writing. We have made these objections, that we may speak with more unrestrained praise of the chapter on Cor-mentalism in all other respects; as it abounds in lofty and correct views, and deserves to be read with deep attention. We are sure that any reader who will overcome the technicalities, and comprehend the piece, will be well rewarded for his pains.

The remarks on Cor-mentalism were elicited by the question, which was proposed to the writer; "Which have done most honor to the human mind, the productions of the *classic* or those of the *romantic* literature?" The writer first endeavours to show the great superiority of Christian literature (or Christian *art* as he calls it, including poetry and the fine arts,) in its origin, the means it employs, and the ends it has in view, over Pagan art; that is, the poetry and fine arts, anterior to Christianity. Pagan art, he says, is material, referring only to outward forms; it wants the elevated spirit which comes from the Christian religion; it is contented with imitating nature; "the art and the artist have attained their highest excellence, when the bird pecks at the painted grapes, or when the Athenian would withdraw the veil to behold the lady it conceals." The Pagan is a selfish being; he views the universe as made for himself alone, placed at his command, and fit only for his use; instead of lifting up his soul to comprehend the vastness of creation, he endeavours to bring down the universe

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within the compass of his finite powers. The great object of the poetry and the fine arts of Paganism, is pleasure. "Here," says Maroncelli, "is the secret of the whole; selfish pleasure, without elevation."

Far different from this, are the fine arts and poetry of Christianity. The Christian regards himself, not as a solitary, independent being, but as bound to the human race by the social ties. Every act which he performs, every effort of mind, is to be viewed, not merely in reference to himself, but as having an influence upon his fellow men. The great object of Christian art is *Good*, which is to be taught not less by epic, lyric, or dramatic poetry, than in the didactic form; this great lesson is infused into every branch of Christian art, and forms the essence of its being. The great model which the Christian places before him, not for imitation, but as the source of his inspiration, is the Deity. He regards creation as the mirror of the Almighty, and in his own works of art he endeavours to portray the same Infinite existence. "The Pagan artist," says Maroncelli, "scales the loftiest summit of the Andes; but there heaven is excluded from his view as by a vault of adamant, which (save in its proportions) is to him like the wall of his *studio*, bounded on every side. Hence he surveys the earth, to him the universe, and this supposed universe is the palette which supplies him with colors to paint; what? Himself." "The Christian artist feels himself unbound, not only from earth, but from the whole creation over which he has dominion. He grasps it in his hand, and bearing it upward to Him of whom it is the image, they there repose in a divine union with the universal Being."

Pagan and Christian art agree in one respect, which is in accomplishing their objects by the representation of outward forms, as sculpture, poetry, painting. Hence they are said to be *plastic*, that is, creating forms as the means by which they effect their purposes. The great difference between them is in these purposes; that of Pagan art being merely selfish pleasure, while Christian art has for its object the good of the whole race. The former is material and selfish, the latter spiritual and benevolent.

Having drawn this comparison between Christian and Pagan art, Signor Maroncelli proceeds to give a definition of the term Cor-mentalism. The word is derived from two others; *core*, which signifies *heart* or *sentiment*, and *mente*, which is

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translated *mind*, comprehending thought and imagination. "In this compound, the word *mente* is used to denote every creation properly intellectual; and the word *core*, every creation emanating from the feelings, from the gentlest breath of affection to the strongest emotion." Christian art, in the highest and abstract sense of the term, is characterized by this union. Still there are many poets in Paganism, who deserve to be called cor-mental, and many Christian poets to whom the term cannot be applied; and the remaining portion of the chapter is occupied with an examination of various writers, principally Italian however, as bearing the test of Cor-mentalism or not. For the concise and masterly view which it gives of Italian literature, especially of a later date, this treatise will be read with great interest. But little is known here of the modern writers of Italy; indeed the chapter on Cor-mentalism will be found to contain many names which have never reached this continent. The literature which was elicited by the "Conciliatore" had scarcely drawn the breath of life, before it was stifled by the oppressive hand of Austria; and they whose talents and genius would have been recognised and admired by the world, had they lived under happier auspices, the authors of a regenerated literature, were hurried away to Spielberg, and buried alive in its gloomy dungeons. And with them their literature has been consigned to oblivion.

And now, one by one, they are beginning to emerge from the frightful tomb where they have dragged out the best years of their life; and they come, with minds strengthened and hearts purified by suffering, to address the whole civilized world in tones of deeper pathos than Tragedy ever uttered. They come to tell us the story of their wrongs, to claim an asylum, to mourn over the ruin of their country, to wait calmly till her call shall again summon them from beyond the seas, and from every land of freedom, to put forth their energies for her liberation, and again perhaps to enter the vaults of Spielberg. But there were some, who might have beheld over their dungeon door the awful inscription which Dante read on the gates of Hell,

"Lasciate ogni speranza voi che 'ntrate,"

who were never to leave their prison but to be transferred to the mad-house or the tomb. Their companions, who survived the horrors which destroyed them, now come to tell their fate, to relate how one who was "condemned to death, as a

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Carbonaro," and, "by the grace of the Emperor Francis I.," received a commutation of the sentence to "*only fifteen years of carcere duro*," died of hunger in the second year of his imprisonment; how another, goaded to madness, has been removed by order of the Emperor to end his days in another prison; and how others are still pining in hopeless captivity, loaded with chains, condemned to servile tasks, and tormented by their savage keepers.

Such is the story which we read in Maroncelli's "Additions." The most interesting part of the book is undoubtedly that which relates particularly to himself. We seemed to be acquainted with him through his friend Pellico, before he reached our shores. We had followed him with intense interest through the various scenes and horrors of his imprisonment; we had read with tears the story of his sufferings, his illness, his courage during the fearful operation to which he submitted; we had rejoiced with him at his liberation; and when he came among us and we grasped his hand, when we gazed on his mutilated form and remembered all that he had passed through, since he had been removed in the flower of youth from the society of man, we felt that one, whose character had undergone such an ordeal, had laid up for himself treasures which no rust could corrupt, and no thief could steal.

> "Rifatto sì, come piante novelle
> Rinnovellate di novella fronda,
> Puro e disposto a salire alle stelle."

We are very glad to see that works, which are destined to so high a place, appear in a form worthy of themselves. We have never seen any thing more beautiful from the American press, than the two volumes before us, which deserve a place by the side of the most elegant modern English editions.* That they would be classically correct we felt sure, when we saw that they had issued from the press of Mr. Folsom. That the work would in every respect be elegant, we felt no less sure, when we found the name of Mr. Norton, as Editor; his beautiful edition of Mrs. Hemans, begun, but left unfinished from want of encouragement, showed plainly what was his taste in getting up editions of classic writers. The beauty of these volumes is peculiarly gratifying, however, when we remember that they are American; that the copy-right is secured; and that they are not to be subjected to the debasing touch of

* We speak of those copies, which escaped mutilation by the binder.

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those harpies of literature, the republishers of the United States, who defile the banquet prepared by the writers of England. That these volumes are sacred from all such violation, is a mercy for which we desire to be duly thankful. And while touching upon this subject, we cannot forbear calling the attention of our readers to the importance of the establishment of a law, enabling foreign writers to obtain a copy-right for their works in this country, at the same time that they are published in Europe. This subject is now beginning to attract public notice. Several of our journals have expressed themselves in favor of such a copy-right law, and some have declared against it. We shall not pretend to offer here all the arguments in defence of such a law, nor to combat all that may be said on the other side. Our wish is to state the case as simply as possible, with the hope of engaging the attention and interest of others, who are better qualified to conduct the debate.

It is probably known to most readers, that English, and other foreign writers, are not allowed to take out a copy-right for their publications in this country. Any American has the liberty of republishing, abridging, altering, adding to a foreign book at his pleasure, without any reference whatever to the author. This liberty affords great advantages to our publishers. Within thirty days' sail of us, there is a great country more populous than our own, where our language prevails. The success of a book is abundantly tried there; and if it is well received, the American publisher has only to reprint and sell it as his own. The copy-right costs him nothing, and he therefore enjoys the double profits of author and publisher. We say nothing of the injustice which is thus done to English writers, not because it is of small importance, but because we wish to view the subject exclusively as it relates to Americans. It must be obvious to every one, that, as long as this state of things lasts, and while there are as many writers and publishers in England as in America, our publishers will have quite enough to occupy them in reprinting English works. An American would not be so foolish as to pay a native writer a fair price for his copy-right of a work, which he is not sure of selling when printed, if he can obtain for nothing the work of some English author, of such well-known popularity, that the sale of an edition is certain. The most important consequence of this is, that there is no encouragement for Ameri-

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can writers, and therefore, comparatively speaking, there can be no American literature. There will be some undoubtedly, who will assert that it is not desirable that there should be any native literature; but with such persons we decline any controversy. Our whole argument is founded upon the supposition that it is a great want; that it is superior to all other considerations, which may arise in discussing the question; superior to the importance of having books sold very cheap; superior even to the consideration of our publishers' growing rich in five years instead of ten. The reason which has always been assigned for not passing such a law, is that the absence of it promotes the cause of literature in this country; inasmuch as it affords books at a much lower rate than they could be bought otherwise, and places within the reach of many persons, books which they could not buy, if the price were higher; and that it encourages home manufactures, by enabling our publishers to reprint all of the English works which are likely to be sought. — The mistake here is, that the arrangement favors the wrong set of men. It is the writers who are to be regarded as the manufacturers, not the publishers. The American publishers, who reprint English works, are the importers and venders of foreign manufactures.

It may be said indeed that American writers are paid for their copy-rights. A very small number are paid; we doubt whether a dozen writers in this country could be mentioned, whose copy-right could be sold to any publisher for a sum sufficient to repay them for the trouble of writing a book. A very small number of writers of great celebrity are able to sell their manuscripts to advantage, because the publisher, when he puts out the reprint of an English work, incurs the risk of seeing his neighbour republish the work in a still cheaper form; whereas the work of an American popular writer, though not so profitable, is secure from the piracy of other publishers. The thing to be considered is, not how many American writers are paid for their works, but how many are not paid; what a vast number there are to enter the lists for competition, provided they are once fairly opened; how many original, thinking minds are prevented from coming before the public, from the mere inability to bear the expense of publication. It should be remembered that writers are more frequently poor, than rich men; and that numbers, who might have done honor to themselves and good to their countrymen,

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have been prevented from taking the first step, by the utter coldness and indifference of the publishers. Who ever heard of an American publisher's reading a manuscript?

One of the most unpleasant effects of the absence of a copy-right law is, inundating the country with wretched editions of very poor books. The most popular works, of course, are novels. When therefore an English writer, Bulwer or Marryatt for instance, publishes a novel, the person who intends to reprint the work in this country, must do it in a prodigious hurry, lest some other publisher anticipate him. Of course, the edition must be very bad, and sold very cheap. Where they are republished more at leisure, and in a handsomer form, they are sold higher. The cheap literature, therefore, which is the boasted result of the absence of a copy-right law, is generally of the most ephemeral and worthless form, consisting chiefly of novels. This class of works, after the lapse of five or six years from the time of publication, becomes utterly valueless; the reprinted volumes are so hideous, as to be excluded from every decent library; and the whole money spent by the public in purchasing the edition is entirely wasted. And yet this class of books is incomparably more numerous with us than any other.

Another bad consequence of the existing state of things is, that the choice of books, which shall be offered us, is in the wrong hands. Our publishers have, to no small extent, the direction of our reading, inasmuch as they make the selection of books for reprinting. They, of course, will choose those works which will command the readiest and most extensive sale; but it must be remembered, that in so doing, while they answer the demand of the most numerous class of readers, they neglect the wants of the more cultivated and intelligent class. Besides this, there are many admirable works, which might come into general use if they were presented to our reading public, but which are left unnoticed by the publishers, because their success is doubtful. Supposing Abbott's "Young Christian," for instance, a book which has had a more extensive circulation than any work of the present times, had been first published in England, at the same moment that one of Marryatt's novels appeared, the American publishers would have given us immediately a horrid reprint of the novel; but we should have heard nothing of Abbott's book, till its success had been abundantly tried abroad; nor

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even then, if some ephemeral novel had started up, which promised to sell better.

Nor is it certain that the price of books would be seriously augmented by the passage of the copy-right law. It must be remembered, that a great number of writers would thus be called into the field at once; English, as well as American writers; for, if English authors could enjoy this benefit, they would soon begin to write expressly for America; and the competition would become so great, as to regulate the prices of books to a proper standard. But, even supposing the price to be considerably raised, it would certainly be better to pay two dollars for a handsome volume, which is worth keeping, and worth reading again, than to pay only one dollar for a book, which in five years will be worth no more than the same amount of brown paper. And, finally, there is the consideration of a native literature, which will, we presume, be placed by all reasonable and intelligent persons, above that of cheap books.

Barry Cornwall, in his preface to Willis's poems, makes the following amiable remark. "The great land of America must, of course, produce great poets and eminent men. With the deeds of their bold fathers before them; with their boundless forests and savannahs, swarming with anecdotes of solitary adventure; with Niagara thundering in their ears, and the spirit of freedom hovering above them, it is clear that they do not lack material for song." If he had only visited us, he would have found out, that the boldness of our fathers was nothing to the impudence of our publishers; our forests are less extensive than their brown paper editions; the song of some brothers of the trade, whom we could name, is louder than the roar of Niagara, nor would all the waters of Superior wash white their books.

We have barely touched upon some of the more important considerations connected with the copy-right law, rather with the hope of exciting the attention of others, than of discussing the subject in a satisfactory manner ourselves. We trust that the question will not be dropped; and we call upon all, who feel interested in the fate of American literature, to come forward and exert themselves in the cause.

We have treated of many topics in the course of our article, but our thoughts still return to the book which we mentioned first, the "Prisons" of Pellico. We have

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spoken of it only in relation to the merits of the English version; and we cannot conclude, without expressing our sense of the high moral power displayed in the work. We view the author as one, who has come out victorious over himself, in the tremendous contest to which he was subjected; and we trust we shall be pardoned, if we take this occasion to give utterance to our respect and admiration, and twine our humble ivy-wreath of praise with the unfading laurels that encircle his brow. We can never forget the emotions, with which we first read his touching narrative. As we closed the book, and endeavoured to recall our scattered thoughts from the wide field they had traversed, indignation and resentment were the predominant feelings. We thought of the weary days and nights, which the unhappy victim had endured in the vaults of Spielberg. We noticed the account of the first night in the prison at Milan, occupying a larger space in the narrative, than whole years of captivity after weariness and torture had become as daily habits; and then we turned to trace our own history through the same years, that we might realize the actual length of his imprisonment, comparing the happy days, the varied scenes, the change from youth to manhood, which we had passed through, with the dreary monotony of the captive's wasted life during the same period. We almost shuddered at the frightful mockery of setting the prisoners at liberty, as if fearless of the vengeance of the crushed victims. We felt that the Austrian government had done a deep wrong, not merely to the sufferers, or to their country, but to human nature itself; and we almost exulted in the belief, that although the authors of their miseries are perhaps beyond the reach of human vengeance, there is still awaiting them the fearful reckoning, when monarchs' diadems shall crumble into dust, and the purple robe shall no longer cover their crimes.

But he who reads the book with no other feelings than these, does deep injustice to the pure spirit of the author. Every page is radiant with the light of Christianity. We trace through the whole that ripening of character, that purifying of the heart, and that expansion of faith, which show that the teachings of God were received aright. We see human weakness sustained, consoled, rendered triumphant over suffering, by Almighty power. A light from heaven penetrates the gloom of the dungeon, and illumines the soul

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of the captive ; and we feel, when we close the volume, that our hearts are elevated, and our faith strengthened, by the sublime picture we have contemplated.

ART. VIII. — *Orations and Speeches on various Occasions*, by EDWARD EVERETT. Boston. American Stationers' Company. 1836. 8vo. pp. 637.

IT is a dangerous thing to print a single oration ; much more so, a volume of them. The declamatory fervor, which is essential to the success of a spoken discourse, offends the taste of the fastidious reader in his closet, coldly unravelling the flowery web, whose vivid hues will not bear too close an examination. Words, too, may be printed ; but who can print the electric language of the human eye, the expressive tones of the human voice? Who can convey to the reader not only the sentences and paragraphs of a discourse, but the glance and the gesture, which enforced them ? Who can put upon paper, the skilful inflections and appropriate movements, which gave dignity to a commonplace observation, and effect to a tawdry flourish? which broke the fall of a flat sentence, and made old truths sound almost as good as new ? Of the many discourses and orations, which, in our speech-making country, every season sends fluttering forth from the press, on their blue, yellow, and olive wings, how few are read, and of those few, which are read, how few are remembered. A presentation copy is, in most cases, a serious thing to a conscientious man ; for this involves the necessity of reading, and, if possible, of praising, which sometimes awakens a painful struggle between a sense of duty and a sense of politeness. We have known individuals, who avoided a difficulty of this kind, by writing their letter of acknowledgment beforehand, in which they expressed an intention of reading and an expectation of being gratified.

The foregoing observations are suggested by that fruitful mother of associations, the principle of contrast; for the orations of Mr. Everett are splendid exceptions to a general rule. The book before us is one of those, which are the admiration

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of readers and the despair of critics. We believe it was Voltaire who said of some favorite work, that he could praise it in no other way, than by writing at the bottom of every page, "*Pulchrè, benè, optimè*"; and such is the brief and comprehensive criticism, which this volume deserves. Our wonder, no less than our delight, is awakened by the prodigious fertility of mind which it displays, and the copious stores from which its contents have been drawn. Most of our scholars and men of letters publish, in the course of their lives, half a dozen discourses and orations, more or less, but within the covers of this volume, there are no less than twenty-seven lectures, speeches, and orations, all the work of eleven years; and the work too, not of one, who, in the golden light of leisure can devote the heart and strength of continuous and uninterrupted days to his task, but the superadded efforts of a crowded life, and performed in those chance hours which can be gleaned from duties and engagements, which would seem to be enough to demand and justify exclusive devotion to themselves. But there are nowhere any indications of weariness and exhaustion; much less, of self-repetition. The writer addresses himself to the latest, no less than the earliest efforts, with unbroken vigor and undiminished vivacity. Sated, as he must have become, with his employment, nothing seems to have been extorted from a worn-out brain, by the iron scourge of a despotic will; but every thing has, apparently, been thrown off with the easy alacrity of one, who has just awaked to the consciousness of intellectual wealth. The fountain is never turbid, but its last flowings are as fresh and clear, as its "first sprightly runnings." We can hardly help regretting that so much intellectual power has been, — we will not say wasted, — but bestowed upon these occasional efforts, when Mr. Everett might have done so much more for his own fame, by devoting his energies to a single and continuous work. But when we recollect the crowded audiences that have listened with delight to these discourses, when flowing from the orator's lips, and embellished by his beautiful elocution, and who will renew the same glow of pleasure in reading them, we are half inclined to take back our remark.

The great charm of Mr. Everett's orations consists, not so much in any single and strongly developed intellectual trait, as in that symmetry and finish, which, on every page, give token of the richly-endowed and thorough scholar. The natural

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movements of his mind are full of grace; and the most indifferent sentence which falls from his pen has that simple elegance, which it is as difficult to define as it is easy to perceive. His level passages are never tame, and his fine ones are never superfine. His style, with matchless flexibility, rises and falls with his subject, and is alternately, easy, vivid, elevated, ornamental or picturesque, adapting itself to the dominant mood of the mind, as an instrument responds to the touch of a master's hand. His knowledge is so extensive, and the field of his allusions so wide, that the most familiar views, in passing through his hands, gather such a halo of luminous illustrations, that their likeness seems transformed, and we entertain doubts of their identity. Especially, in reading these orations, do we perceive the power which comes from an accurate knowledge of history. No man wields an historical argument with more skill; no one is more fruitful in effective historical parallels and applications. He has, in perfection, the historical eye, if we may so speak; the power of running over an epoch and seizing upon its characteristic expression, and of distinguishing the events by which that expression is most decidedly manifested. His Phi Beta Kappa oration (the one delivered at Cambridge in 1824,) is a signal instance of his success in this respect. Whatever may be thought of the soundness of its positions, no one can doubt the ability with which they are maintained, and the ingenuity and admirable rhetorical skill, with which the orator presses into his service the long record of the past, to enforce and defend them. The same remarks apply, also, to his Plymouth oration, and indeed, in a greater or less degree, to nearly all the discourses in the volume. Not only has he the comprehensive grasp and power of generalization, which are the attributes of almost all superior minds, but he has all the minute accuracy of a chronicler, understands perfectly the significance and efficacy of facts and details, and uses them with great skill and success. His picturesque narrative is one of the most striking of his accomplishments. With what vividness does he make a long procession of events pass before our eyes, as in his Lexington, Concord, and Bloody Brook addresses, marshalling every thing into its proper place, without confusion or crowding! How agreeably he relates a familiar incident, like the anecdote of the dispersion of the London mob, in his Cambridge Fourth of July oration, (page 106 of the present volume.) With what living

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hues he paints a scene like that of the death-bed of Copernicus, in the Address before the Literary Societies of Amherst College, (page 576 of the volume.) In the following paragraph from the Plymouth address, with what almost painful intenseness he makes us feel the forlorn condition of the Pilgrims, on their voyage and at their landing.

"Methinks I see it now, that one solitary, adventurous vessel, the Mayflower of a forlorn hope, freighted with the prospects of a future state, and bound across the unknown sea. I behold it pursuing, with a thousand misgivings, the uncertain, the tedious voyage. Suns rise and set, and weeks and months pass, and winter surprises them on the deep, but brings them not the sight of the wished-for shore. I see them now scantily supplied with provisions, crowded almost to suffocation in their ill-stored prison, delayed by calms, pursuing a circuitous route; — and now driven in fury before the raging tempest, on the high and giddy waves. The awful voice of the storm howls through the rigging. The laboring masts seem straining from their base; — the dismal sound of the pumps is heard; — the ship leaps, as it were, madly, from billow to billow; — the ocean breaks, and settles with engulphing floods over the floating deck, and beats with deadening weight against the staggered vessel. I see them, escaped from these perils, pursuing their all but desperate undertaking, and landed at last, after a five months' passage, on the ice-clad rocks of Plymouth, — weak and weary from the voyage, — poorly armed, scantily provisioned, depending on the charity of their ship-master for a draft of beer on board, drinking nothing but water on shore, — without shelter, — without means, surrounded by hostile tribes. Shut now the volume of history, and tell me, on any principle of human probability, what shall be the fate of this handful of adventurers. Tell me, man of military science, in how many months were they all swept off by the thirty savage tribes, enumerated within the early limits of New-England? Tell me, politician, how long did this shadow of a colony, on which your conventions and treaties had not smiled, languish on the distant coast? Student of history, compare for me the baffled projects, the deserted settlements, the abandoned adventures, of other times, and find the parallel of this. Was it the winter's storm, beating upon the houseless heads of women and children; was it hard labor and spare meals; — was it disease, — was it the tomahawk, — was it the deep malady of a blighted hope, a ruined enterprise, and a broken heart, aching in its last moments, at the recollection of the loved and left, beyond the sea; was it some, or all of these united, that hurried

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this forsaken company to their melancholy fate? — And is it possible, that neither of these causes, that not all combined, were able to blast this bud of hope? Is it possible, that from a beginning so feeble, so frail, so worthy, not so much of admiration as of pity, there has gone forth a progress so steady, a growth so wonderful, a reality so important, a promise yet to be fulfilled, so glorious?" — pp. 60 – 62.

We have before spoken of Mr. Everett's style; but the beauty and power of the foregoing paragraph constrain us to resume the subject. It is doubtless an artificial style; that is to say, a style formed and elaborated by assiduous care, and polished by a taste as sensitive as a blind man's touch; and if it does not snatch a grace beyond the reach of art, it certainly snatches all that are within its reach. But, be this as it may, the skilful result contains no internal evidence of the laborious process by which it was attained, and the orator has reached the highest triumph of art, by so effectually hiding it from observation. His style appears to us a nearly perfect specimen of a rhetorical and ornamental one. Certainly, it is so, if the just definition of a good style be, proper words in proper places. He is as careful to select the right word, as a workman in Mosaic is to pick out the exact shade of color which he requires; and it would be difficult to find an epithet which could be changed for the better. Take, for instance, the following sentence contained in the above extract. "The laboring masts seem straining from their base; — the dismal sound of the pumps is heard; — the ship leaps, as it were, madly, from billow to billow; — the ocean breaks, and settles with engulphing floods over the floating deck, and beats, with deadening weight, against the staggered vessel." What speaking pictures are presented to the eye by these very words; "the *dismal* sound," "the *engulphing* floods," "the *floating* deck," "*deadening* weight," "the *staggered* vessel"; and how impossible it would be to substitute more expressive ones in their places. Let no man underrate this minuteness of verbal criticism, as finical and unmanly. The characteristic of a good style in prose or poetry, is, that it will bear dissection. Fineness of polish is, next to indestructibleness of material, the best specific against the corroding influences of time. The beauty of Mr. Everett's style is a source of constant pleasure to his readers, even to those who are charmed by it unconsciously to themselves. His orations

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abound with those delicious cadences, which thrill through the veins like a strain of fine music, and cling spontaneously to the memory. Where can we find the English language moulded into more graceful forms, than in such sentences as these ?

"They do not create, they obey the Spirit of the Age; the serene and beautiful spirit, descended from the highest heaven of liberty, who laughs at our little preconceptions, and, with the breath of his mouth, sweeps before him the men and the nations, that cross his path." — p. 25.

"Greece cries to us, by the convulsed lips of her poisoned, dying Demosthenes; and Rome pleads with us, in the mute persuasion of her mangled Tully." — p. 37.

"The sound of my native language beyond the sea, is a music to my ear, beyond the richest strains of Tuscan softness, or Castilian majesty." — p. 58.

"They come from the embattled cliffs of Abraham; they start from the heaving sods of Bunker's Hill; they gather from the blazing lines of Saratoga and Yorktown; from the blood-dyed waters of the Brandywine; from the dreary snows of Valley Forge, and all the hard fought fields of the war." — p. 101.

"No vineyards, as now, clothed our inhospitable hill-sides; no blooming orchards, as at the present day, wore the livery of Eden, and loaded the breeze with sweet odors; no rich pastures, nor waving crops, stretched beneath the eye, along the wayside, from village to village, as if Nature had been spreading her halls with a carpet, fit to be pressed by the footsteps of her descending God!" — p. 229.

"The memory of their great men of old went before them to battle, and scattered dismay in the ranks of the barbarous foe, as he moved, like Satan in hell, with uneasy steps, over the burning soil of freedom." — p. 402.

"Have not these future billows, on which navies are soon to be tossed, in which the great monsters of the deep will disport themselves, been borne aloft on the bosom of a fleecy cloud, — chased by a breeze, — with scarce enough of substance to catch the hues of a sunbeam; and have they not descended, sometimes indeed, in drenching rains, — but far more diffusively in dew-drops, and gentle showers, and feathery snows, over the expanse of a continent, and been gathered successively into the slender rill, the brook, the placid stream, till they grew, at last, into the mighty river, pouring down his tributary floods into the unfathomed ocean?" — pp. 407, 408.

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The extracts which we have made from Mr. Everett's volume, are specimens of that magnificent declamation which is one of his most obvious and striking characteristics; but, in order to appreciate the versatility of his powers, one should read his discourses of a sober and practical cast, such as his lecture on the Workingmen's Party, his address before the Massachusetts Agricultural Society, and his speech on the subject of the Western Rail-road. In these, we shall find that the same person who can so move and thrill us when he has his "singing robes and garlands about him," can put them off, and give us familiar instruction and plain, practical advice, as if he had never spurned the damp earth with his rhetorical wings. His singular power of illustration enables him to give dignity to the lowest, and interest to the driest subject, while that unerring taste, which, in his highest flights, insures him temperance and smoothness, preserves him from the unpardonable sin of being heavy, commonplace, and prosaic. The extent of his knowledge in common things, and his minute power of observation, are quite remarkable in one, who has spent so much time in his study, and is so familiar with books. His brilliant intellectual accomplishments, and his fine taste, rest upon a granite foundation of vigorous good sense. He can meet merchants, farmers, and mechanics upon their own ground, and tell them something they did not know before. His retentive memory, and copious stores of all kinds of information, enable him to support every position by an imposing array of facts, and leave no room for that distrust, which practical men are apt to entertain of the views and opinions of scholars and thinkers. The following extract from his speech on the subject of the Western Rail-road, may be adduced as a specimen of his powers in this respect.

"But the great thing wanting to the prosperity of Massachusetts is COMMUNICATION WITH THE WEST. The internal commerce of this country is prodigious; and of all that part which is accessible to us, on the present system of communication, we have an ample share. With the South, we have, in our freighting and coasting trade, every thing that can be asked. With the South-West, in reference to all that part of commerce which is calculated to seek the route by sea to New Orleans, we have nothing more to desire; — and the intercourse already established in this way, with the whole region drained by the Mississippi and its tributaries, is most extensive, various, and mutu-

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ally profitable. In ascending the Mississippi and its tributaries, in 1829, on which occasion I was on board several boats, I continually saw casks, packages, and bales, in all of them, which I knew came from New England, by their marks, — by the mode of doing up, — by a certain indescribable something, in which to a true Yankee eye there is no mistake. A distinguished gentleman, of Pittsburgh, told me there was a regular battle between the Boston nails and the Pittsburgh nails, on the Ohio river; — the Boston nails coming all the way round, and the Pittsburgh made on the spot, from Juniata iron; and that, though the Pittsburgh nails sometimes fought their way down the river to Louisville, the Bostonians, at times, had driven them up as far as Wheeling. I was informed by a respectable trading house in Pittsburgh, that they had, in the year preceding, imported two thousand barrels of pickled mackerel; and I think I did not enter a public house in the West, to take a meal, morning, noon, or night, without seeing a pickled mackerel on the table. I remember, a year or two ago, that one of my neighbours from Charlestown, who had emigrated to the northwest corner of Arkansas, — a spot not then even laid out into counties, — told me, that in that remote region, — the last foothold of civilization, where you have but one more step to make, to reach the domain of the wild Indian and the buffalo, — a settler did not think himself well accoutred, without a *Leominster axe.* But, give him that, — give him, Sir, that weapon which has brought a wider realm into the pale of civilization, than the sword of Cæsar or the sceptre of Justinian, — give him a narrow Yankee axe, — he 'll hew his way with it to a living, in a season; though I shrewdly suspect, without the least disparagement of emigrants from other quarters, that after sending the Yankee axe into the country, the best way to give it full effect would be to send a little Yankee bone and sinew, to facilitate its use.

"But, Sir, though by the way of New Orleans we have a considerable trade with the South-West, there is a vast region, which that channel does not reach. A *direct communication* is greatly wanted. This is THE *want*, daily becoming more serious, and which must be supplied. The destinies of the country, if I may use a language which sounds rather mystical, but which every one, I believe, understands, — the destinies of the country run East and West. Intercourse between the mighty interior West and the seacoast, is the great principle of our commercial prosperity and political strength. Nature, in the aggregate, has done every thing that could be desired, to promote this intercourse, and art has done much to second her; but, as far as the single State of Massachusetts is concerned,

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the course of the rivers from North to South, and of the mountains between which they flow, deprives us of the share of the benefits of this intercourse which we should otherwise enjoy. And this operation of natural causes has been aided by several important works of artificial communication, enumerated in the able report of the committee. The consequence is, that a very considerable part of the territory of Massachusetts has its commercial interests in one direction, and its political and social relations in another; so much so, that, as we all, I am sure, heard with pain from the distinguished gentleman from Springfield, (Mr. Calhoun,) the feeling of State pride, which ought of all feelings that end in temporal affairs, to be among the dearest and deepest in the bosom of a Massachusetts man, was daily growing weaker among the people of one of the most intelligent and substantial portions of the State.

"This commercial alienation has gone to a length, which I suspect the citizens of Boston are not generally aware of. The entire region west of the hills of Berkshire communicates with New York through the Hudson, — and the whole valley of the Connecticut, in and out of Massachusetts, communicates with Long Island Sound. I am afraid to say, in how large a part of Massachusetts I think a complete non-intercourse reigns with the capital; but I will state to you a fact, that lately fell beneath my personal observation. Having occasion, last week, to go to Deerfield, I took the north road from Worcester, through Templeton, Athol, and the country watered by Miller's river. If there is a spot in Massachusetts where one would feel himself entrenched, shut up, land-locked, in the very bosom of the Commonwealth, Athol Green, surrounded with its rising grounds, is that spot. And what, Mr. President, do you think I saw? We had scarce driven out of the village, and were making our way along through South Orange and Erving's Grant, when I saw two wagons straining up a hill, — the horses' heads to the east, — the wagons laden with crates, casks, and bales of foreign merchandise, which had come from Liverpool, by the way of Hartford, from New York! I hold that, Sir, a little too much for a Massachusetts man to contemplate without pain.

"Now, Mr. President, this is the matter which we wish to put to rights. We do not wish to deprive New York of her trade; but to regain our own. It is the object of this meeting to remedy principally this evil. To open a great route of communication between the East and the West, by means of a railroad from Boston to Albany, which with lateral routes, afterwards to be constructed, shall replace Boston in its natural position toward the trade of the interior.

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"And here, perhaps, we shall be met by the general vague objection, that it is impossible, by artificial works, to divert commerce from its *great natural channels.* Abstractions prove nothing. There are two kinds of natural channels, — one sort made directly by the hand which made the world; the other, constructed by man, in the intelligent exercise of the powers which his Creator has given him. It is as natural for a civilized man to make a rail-way or canal, as for a savage to descend a river in a bark canoe, or to cross from one fishing-place to another, by a path through the woods.

"The city of New York, no doubt, owes much to the noble river that unites her to Albany; but she owes vastly more to her great artificial works of internal communication. The Hudson and the Mohawk, of themselves, unaided by art, so far from gathering in the commerce of the far West, would not monopolize that of one half the region west of Albany, within the State of New York. How far is it from the head waters of the eastern branch of the Susquehannah, in Otsego lake, to the Mohawk? Perhaps fifteen miles! I have stood on the high grounds, that overlook Harrisburgh in Pennsylvania, at a season of the year before the Hudson was open, and seen the rafts, the flatboats, the canoes, the batteaux, the craft of undescribed shapes and unutterable names, following each other, on the broad bosom of the Susquehannah, from morning to night, bearing the produce of the interior of New York, to a market in Chesapeake Bay! The same holds of the southwestern corner of New York, which naturally is drained by the tributaries of the Ohio. I recollect that at New Orleans, I saw a flat-bottomed boat loaded with shingles. I asked its steersman whence he came. He answered, from Olean. Perhaps I ought to be ashamed to confess, that, at that time, I did not know where Olean was. I found, to my astonishment, it was a settlement in Cattaraugus county, New York, on the Alleghany river, a hundred and seventy or eighty miles northeast of Pittsburgh! But, Sir, to bring this wandering commerce back to herself, New York has constructed her great artificial works. In this respect, Massachusetts is naturally little, if any, worse off than New York. If New York has a great navigable river, Massachusetts has, what New York wants, a vast seacoast. What both wanted was a great line of artificial communication, running inward to the West. New York has constructed hers, and has other mighty works of the same character in progress; and all that Massachusetts needs is, by a work of very moderate extent, not merely to recover the trade of her own territory, but

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to acquire a fair share, a large, a growing share, of the commerce of the boundless West." — pp. 629 – 632.

If we were called upon to assign the palm of superiority to any one of the discourses in this volume, we should find it a difficult task. Some of them we like for one kind of excellence, and some for another; and some of his shorter and apparently less carefully prepared efforts, we read with as much pleasure as his longer and more elaborate productions. His Phi Beta Kappa oration, delivered at Cambridge in 1824, is the most celebrated of his occasional discourses, and probably comprehends the greatest amount of intellectual power. In point of style, argument, and illustration, it is lavish and splendid in the highest degree, and it contains passages which may safely challenge a comparison with any thing of the kind in the English language. The concluding paragraphs are magnificent, stirring the blood like the sound of a trumpet; and the closing one, the well-known address to Lafayette, is full of a simple grandeur, resembling the life and character of the eminent man, of whom, and to whom, it was spoken. The full and ripe scholarship, too, displayed in this discourse, is not among the least of its charms. But with all its various and admirable merits, it is open to the criticism of being the production of a rhetorician, rather than a philosopher; an advocate rather than a judge; and of assuming rather more, in favor of the orator's views, than either truth or history will warrant. We may venture to assert, however, without much fear of contradiction, that this oration, together with those delivered at Plymouth and at Concord, (being the first three in the volume,) stand in the first rank of his occasional productions. They were his earliest efforts, and they are characterized by a richness and vigor of conception, a fulness of illustration and a luxuriance of imagery, not surpassed, if equalled, by any of his later ones.

But it is altogether unnecessary to assign any relative rank to these discourses. We like to think of the volume as a whole, and look upon any comparisons as being particularly odious, when applied to its component elements. We acknowledge a feeling of pride in the thought, that in the tasteful and elegant contents of this book, our country has made such large amends for the quantities of nonsense, sublime and ridiculous, which her sons have inflicted upon the community

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in the shape of orations and speeches of all sorts. We venture to pronounce it a permanent accession to the treasures of English literature. We cannot but think, that there is that in it which men will not willingly let die, and that another generation will value it even more highly than we do. The truth is, that Mr. Everett would have more consulted his own fame, if he had been less good-natured, and, imitating the policy of Eastern monarchs, permitted himself to be seen and heard more rarely. For the last eight or ten years, we have so often enjoyed the opportunity of first listening to, and afterwards reading, his beautiful and finished discourses, that we have grown insensible to their merit, and have learned to look upon them as things to be expected of course, like roses in June and apples in October. We have not sufficiently reflected that there is not any one of Mr. Everett's printed discourses, which would not materially add to the reputation of almost any other man in the community, and that he has, in a great measure, created the taste by which he himself is judged. He has ennobled and dignified the employment of oration-making, and sustains somewhat the same relation to that branch of literature with us, which Homer did to Epic poetry in Greece. If any one will attempt, at the present time, to write an oration, he will perceive the extent of Mr. Everett's influence, by the unconscious imitation of him, into which he will fall. Much of the improvement which has been, of late, discernible in this class of productions, is to be fairly ascribed to the spirit which he has awakened, and to the models which he has afforded. He has made it easier to write a good oration than it formerly was, and has also made the public less tolerant of indifferent ones.

Mr. Everett's orations are nearly faultless, as literary efforts, and the only serious objection which we have to urge against them, (which we shall state as fully and as frankly as we have expressed our admiration of them,) is of a different kind, and partaking rather of a moral nature. We allude to the language of extravagant commendation, which he so frequently applies to our country, to our political institutions, to the events of our history, and to the great men who have shared in them. We are well aware that a good deal of this is expected from all public speakers, and it is reasonable and proper that audiences should be indulged to some considerable extent, in this respect. We believe too, that it is the duty of every man to

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cherish a deep respect for the institutions of his country, for upon that respect must their value in a great measure depend; and we would urge this duty the more strongly, because we apprehend that a considerable portion of our most cultivated and gifted men do not entertain any such respect, but, on the contrary, feel either indifference or distrust. Nor have we the slightest doubt of Mr. Everett's entire sincerity in all that he says. But what we regret is, not that he praises generously, for that we like; nor that he praises indiscriminately, and without qualification, for that he does not; but that he does not sufficiently temper his eulogiums with the voice of warning and rebuke, and press home upon his hearers the solemn and stern truth, that of those to whom much is given, much will be required. He is too apt to feed that overweening national vanity, for which we are so conspicuous, and which makes us equally uneasy under the mild reproof of a judicious, and the ill-natured gibe of a prejudiced witness. We deem it to be the imperative duty of our great men to urge upon their countrymen, on all possible occasions, that if they are freer, happier, and more prosperous than others, therefore they ought to be wiser and better. The most striking thing to be observed of our institutions is, that they are, in themselves, so *characterless*; that is, that they take their character so entirely from the community for whose benefit they are intended. They have in themselves, no conservative principle, to save us from those destructive consequences, which must result from sins of omission or commission on our part. Mr. Everett is by no means the only person, against whom the above charge can, with justice, be sustained; for the remark applies to nearly all our public speakers, and it is because he is so eminent a man and his opinions are justly entitled to so much weight, that we deem it especially important that he should set a good example in this respect.

Mr. Everett is betrayed, occasionally, though very rarely, by his luxuriant stores of imagery, into the use of ornaments, either not in themselves in perfect good taste, or not appropriate to the subject, which they are designed to embellish. In the Eulogy upon Adams and Jefferson, we have the following paragraph.

"Our jubilee, like that of old, is turned into sorrow. Among the crumbling ruins of Rome, there is a shattered arch, reared by the emperor Vespasian, when his son Titus returned from the

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destruction of Jerusalem. On its broken pannels and falling frieze are still to be seen, represented as borne aloft in the triumphal procession of Titus, the well-known spoils of the second temple, the sacred vessels of the holy place, the candlestick with seven branches, and, in front of all, the silver trumpets of the jubilee, in the hands of captive priests, proclaiming not now the liberty, but the humiliation and the sorrows of Judah. From this mournful spectacle, it is said, the pious and heart-stricken Hebrew, even to the present day, turns aside in sorrow. He will not enter Rome, through the gate of the arch of Titus, but winds his way through the by-paths of the Palatine, and over the broken columns of the palace of the Cæsars, that he may not behold the sad image of the trumpets of the jubilee, borne aloft in the captive train." — p. 125.

Nothing can be more beautiful or touching than the above paragraph; but what has it to do with Adams and Jefferson? It seems to have been introduced for its own sake, and not for the sake of the illustration; and, though the writer could not have drawn his pen through it, without a sigh of regret, we think it would have been the more judicious course for him to make the sacrifice. In the same Eulogy, he says, "the humblest sod of Independent America, *with nothing but the dew-drops of the morning to gild it*, is a prouder mausoleum than kings or conquerors can boast." This sentence would be improved, it strikes us, by the omission of the words in Italics. In the discourse delivered at Lexington, speaking of Samuel Adams's knowledge of liberty, he has the following sentence. "He knew it was no gaudy May-day flower, peeping through the soft verdant sods of Spring, and opening its painted petals as a dew-cup for midnight fairies to sip at." This might have been judiciously spared, as being in itself a "*dulce vitium*," and as particularly inappropriate when applied to that stern man of iron, Samuel Adams, the last person in the world, with whom one could associate flowers and fairies. The above are slight blemishes, and would not be noticed, were not the discourses so nearly faultless as literary productions.

We have spoken warmly of these orations of Mr. Everett, but not more warmly than sincerely. We are glad of the opportunity to offer our humble tribute of admiration to one, on whose eloquent lips we have so often hung delighted, and who, before he had left his academic bowers, filled our boyish conceptions of what a ripe and accomplished scholar ought to be. We feel that our literature owes much to him,

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and that a considerable portion of what he has written will take rank with the best efforts of the American mind. Especially do we honor him for his untiring industry, and that love of labor for its own sake, not often found united with powers so brilliant. Few men have done more in the same time than he has, though many of his efforts have passed away and left no memorial, owing to the ephemeral character of the objects upon which they were lavished. His contributions to this journal, had he done nothing else, would have earned him the praise of an industrious man; but, as it is, they form but one item in the crowded list of his labors, in his various functions of orator, scholar, and statesman. Besides his literary and political toils, of which the evidence remains in black and white, no man has more conscientiously performed all those petty personal and official duties, which "die and make no sign," and which are such consumers of time, that most eminent men make their eminence an excuse for neglecting them altogether. Mr. Everett finds time to do every thing, and to do it well. In his preface to this volume, he gives us to understand, that another may hereafter be forthcoming, to comprehend the speeches, essays, and other miscellaneous compositions not contained in this. We hope that its appearance will not long be delayed, and we are sure that Mr. Everett can glean from his various miscellaneous writings, much that deserves a permanent place in the library and on the book-table.

In taking leave of a volume, so rich in all sorts of excellence that we have found it difficult to avoid falling into a monotonous tone of commendation, may we venture, unblamed, to exercise that privilege, which reviewers have claimed for themselves, time out of mind, of giving advice, whether they are qualified for it, or not? We would respectfully recommend to Mr. Everett, to devote himself, hereafter, to some continued work, in which his reputation can be more surely trusted, than in orations and articles, however brilliant and successful. We know of no one, who has higher qualifications for an elaborate historical or biographical enterprise, than he; his style is so finished, his taste so pure, his habits of investigation so thorough. He is in the prime of his life, and in the full possession of his fine powers; and may anticipate, with as much confidence as we can rely upon any thing, so uncertain as the life of man, many valuable and hard-working years, before he arrives at that period, when the easy-chair is coveted

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before dinner. He has given enough of his time and powers to occasional efforts; let him devote the prime of his manhood to some theme, to which he may address himself with the full strength of his mind, and bestow upon us a work, which shall be, in the language of Thucydides, a κτῆμά τε ἐς ἀεὶ μᾶλλον ἢ ἀγώνισμα ἐς τὸ παραχρῆμα ἀκούειν. For his own sake, and for his country's sake too, we hope that this suggestion, made in the spirit of respectful deference, may find favor with him.

ART. IX. — *History of the Reformation in Italy.* By T. MACRIE, D. D. Edinburgh. 1827.*

THE history of the Reformation is naturally divided into several distinct branches, which vary in interest and in importance according to the literary, or religious, or political influence subsequently exercised by the nations among which they extended. While the pious ardor of Luther found support in the political interests of a portion of Germany, the free principles of Swiss government favored the reception and extension of the doctrines of Zuinglius. And when the brutal passions of Henry were affording an opening for the introduction of Protestantism into England, the seeds of religious liberty were, in despite of royal persecution, taking root throughout the whole of France. Nor was the spirit of reform confined to those nations, among which its success has proved permanent; but in Spain, where the supremacy of Catholicism might have seemed least likely to be disturbed, and in Italy itself, the seat and strong hold of papal power, the doctrines of Protestantism spread for a while with sure and rapid progression, and long withstood the combined attacks of secular and inquisitorial violence. In each of these countries the rise of the new opinions was marked with all the peculiarities of national character; and even long after the great dispute had been irrevocably decided, the political movements of each continued to be more

* Besides the work of Macrie, we have availed ourselves of the important details, which have been given by Botta with that sincerity and independence which distinguish all the productions of his pen, and some of the most important of which had escaped the attention of Macrie.

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or less influenced by the feeling developed during their respective struggles for reform.

But notwithstanding the extent and variety of this subject, and the rich harvest which it affords of all the lessons which render the study of history important, one of the most interesting portions of it has been strangely neglected, and its real character alternately exposed to the satires of ignorance and the misrepresentations of calumny. The attention of most writers, and even of those from whom we derive the clearest and justest views of this epoch, has been confined to those nations in which the first efforts at reform were followed by a full and permanent religious independence; while the fate of others, whose struggles in the same cause were pursued with equal devotion, and attended with an equal degree of intellectual developement, has been passed over in silence. So true is this, that a distinguished writer of the last century hesitated not to assert, that the Italians, devoted to intrigue and pleasure, had no part in the trials of the Reformation; and this too of a period, in which hundreds were wearing out an agonized existence in the dungeons of the Inquisition, and the snows of the Alps were stained with the tracks of multitudes of others, who blessed an exile that secured them from torture and the stake. *

The blame of these errors, however, does not fall exclusively upon those, who traced the history of this dreadful period. The historian must be guided by his materials, and his search of these is for the most part directed by the views of writers contemporary with the events that he attempts to describe. Facts, therefore, whose importance was not understood by those who witnessed them, are long hidden from posterity by the short-sightedness which first represented them under a false point of view, and the subsequent negligence which failed to place them in a truer light while their proximity rendered the undertaking comparatively easy. But when in the course of time the accomplishment of some great change, or the developement of some important principle, calls the attention of the philosopher to the causes by which it was produced, and the circumstances under which it originated, it

* This is not exaggeration; the dungeon of the Inquisition in Rome overflowed to such a degree, as to require the erection of new prisons, and in Locarno upwards of two hundred persons of both sexes and all ages were compelled to abandon their homes and cross the Alps for shelter.

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becomes necessary to follow back the current of history with slow and cautious steps, and unite the distant occurrences and apparently trifling manifestations of the character of different periods, which alone can lead us to the real source. A vast field is thus opened not only for research, but for disputation; systems are formed; schools are established; and the mind which was in the onset animated by the desire of establishing the truth, is, in the end, too often heated by the passion of acrimonious controversy.

But it was not by ordinary causes alone, that some portions of the history of the Reformation were rendered obscure. Various concurring events exerted a strong influence, not only upon the Reformation itself, but upon the materials which contained its history. Ecclesiastical history is less a narrative of actions than a record of opinions. Its revolutions are changes in doctrine and creed, accompanied by a greater or less approach to purity of manners, in exact proportion to the influence of the true spirit of Christianity. But it comprises few of those great occurrences, which excite attention by their direct action upon the physical or political condition of the human race; and its progress can only be traced by the writings of those who took part in the corruption or reform of each epoch. During the course of the Reformation, the attacks of the Catholic Church were directed no less against the writings than the persons of the reformers; and the flames, which could not always be extended to the unhappy object of persecution, were fed with the volumes from which his heresy had emanated, or to which his forbidden researches had given rise. Thus while the progress of Reformation was effectually checked, the records of its existence were destroyed; and the scanty materials for history which escaped this war of extermination, were scattered, like their authors, throughout distant parts of Europe, and often lost by a neglect no less fatal than persecution itself.* The history of the progress of the Reformation, in those countries where the Catholic Church still retains its supremacy, can only be formed by a long and minute study of scattered documents, differing widely both in

* To these causes must be added the jealousy, with which many precious documents are still withheld from the public eye by their suspicious guardians; and we have before us at this moment additional proofs of the ridiculous timidity, which endeavours to conceal from view what can at the utmost be considered as but an additional confirmation of facts irrefragably established.

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character and in form, and often less calculated to lead to clear and satisfactory conclusions, than to bewilder by the obscurities and perplexities with which they abound. Directing our attention more particularly to Italy, we find that the same causes which led to the suppression of the Reformation, and of the works by which it was recorded, continued to act, although in various degrees, upon the native historians, and either mislead their judgment or check their pens whenever they approach this delicate part of their subject. Allusions, sketches, and insulated facts are scattered through their works; the progress of the reform is acknowledged with more or less hesitation; but the independent rank which it deserved in the annals of Italy, has never been fully accorded it by the Catholic, nor till lately claimed by Protestant historians. The conduct of the former is easily accounted for; but it is impossible to refrain from astonishment at the neglect of the latter. They were bound by every species of motive to claim for their Protestant brethren of Italy, the respect and the commiseration of the rest of the world. They were bound by the principles of interest, which forbade them to let pass so strong a proof of their favorite assertion, that their cause was universal and universally felt. They were bound by the principle of morality which bids us judge, as far as we can, by motives and efforts, not by actions and appearances alone. They were bound by the principle of true philosophy, which teaches us that almost as much is to be learnt by studying the causes that have prevented, as those that have secured success.

But, notwithstanding the motives, which might have been supposed sufficiently powerful to attract toward this important subject a share, at least, of that attention, which has been assiduously devoted to inquiries of far less general interest; it was not until towards the middle of the last century, that it began to be studied upon a scale somewhat better suited to its real importance. The first circumstance (at least as nearly as we have been able to ascertain) which excited the general attention of the students of ecclesiastical history to the progress made by the Lutheran Reformation in Italy, was the publication of the documents relative to ecclesiastical and literary history collected by the learned Schelhorn, near the middle of the last century. The controversy which followed this publication not only served to awaken the curiosity of the historical inquirer, with regard to this subject, but wrested from

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the defenders of the Catholic cause much curious and precious information relative to the contested points. The *Specimen Italiæ Reformatæ* of Gerdes contained a still more extensive collection of facts, and was the first effectual step towards a complete history. Many facts and circumstances, which had, till then, been passed over in silence by those who undertook to treat the general history of Italy, were from that time necessarily made the subjects of at least passing remark; and the difficulties, which had encumbered this field, were thus gradually lessened or removed. At last after the interval of half a century from the appearance of the work of Gerdes, Macrie, whose name stands at the head of our paper, gave to the world in one body, a full and laborious history of the rise, the progress, and the fall of the "Protestant Reformation in Italy."

Without entering into a detailed examination of this work, it will be sufficient to observe, that while we respect the zeal with which Macrie engaged in this difficult undertaking, and the patient courage and unwearied industry with which he has examined the innumerable and scattered documents which form his materials, we feel deeply his deficiencies in that enlarged and candid philosophy, without which no one can fulfil the part of a liberal and eloquent historian. In many places the tone of his work would be more becoming to a martyrology than to a dignified history; and, as often happens, his skepticism with regard to the testimony of Catholic writers, is more than counterbalanced by the credulity with which he receives the statements of their adversaries. Some facts of a remarkable character seem to have wholly escaped his attention, and the sympathy which we would gladly grant to others, is checked by the tone in which he demands it. We are willing to acknowledge that truth, abstractly considered, admits not of division; but it is a sad though common mistake to suppose, that all the members, or even the majority of one party, are guilty of hypocrisy and deceit, because the other is in the right. These defects, however, for the most part do not extend beyond the general tone of the work; and though they detract greatly from its interest, and require a great degree of caution in the reader, it must still be considered a learned and instructive history of the great events which it records.

We confess that we feel no ordinary interest in this history. We have studied it not as an insulated fact, but as a continuation of the spirit of that period, when Italy, though torn with

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discord, was free from the stranger, and was cherishing, in the turbulent existence of her republics, those seeds of freedom and political wisdom, which she, and she alone, first planted in Europe. It has been for us a connecting link with the boldness and daring of her first glorious dawn of literature; and as we look around upon the apparently torpid inhabitants of her lovely fields, we see the same spirit strengthened by long patience, chastened by long suffering, nerved and formed for action by the long and bitter experience of four centuries of foreign subjection, ready to arise with the irresistible energy of union and patriotic devotion, and realize the provident design with which nature

"dell' Alpi schermo
Pose fra lor e la tedesca rabbia."

We trust that we have not been misled by our own interest in this subject, in supposing that a brief sketch of this remarkable portion of Italian history would prove acceptable to our readers.

The origin of the Reformation in Italy extends far beyond the proper limits of modern history.* The valleys of Piedmont were occupied from time immemorial by the Waldenses, whose simple worship and purity of manners were a constant reproach to the pride and pretensions of the church. It was from hence, if the supposition of some modern writers be correct, that the first advocates of reform derived their doctrines; and while other nations were struck with wonder and conviction at the superior purity of these, they had long been familiar to the simple inhabitants of the Piedmontese valleys.† But however this question may be decided, it cannot be denied that the pretensions of the Church of Rome nowhere encountered a more bitter opposition than within the limits of Italy, and that also at a period when the other nations of Christendom were bowed in implicit submission to its power. The independence of the bishopric of Milan was long maintained in open violation of the doctrines of Rome, and the decrees of Hildebrand were found inefficient until supported by

* Botta, Storia d' Italia. Vol. I. p. 368, et seq.

† "Serbavano e tuttavolta serbano i Valdesi insin dai primi secoli della chiesa opinioni conformi a quelle che ora turbavano il mondo. Giovanni Huss e Viclefeo già le avevano abbracciate; Lutero stesso non fece altro che ripetere quello che i Valdesi già da molti secoli indietro pubblicavano." — Ibid.

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the arms of Estimbold. But although no physical opposition could be formed, of sufficient power to resist the forces which the Popes of that age could bring to their assistance, yet no efforts could effectually check the growth of that spirit which prepared the way for the reception of the Reformation, and, under more favorable circumstances, might have accomplished it. When the different churches of Italy had been united by art or by force under the more immediate dominion of the Roman see, the vices and arrogance of the latter were assailed by weapons of another description, and the wounds which it received, though less apparent in the commencement of the struggle, continued to wear upon the debilitated system until the fatal blow was given by the arms of Luther. These adversaries were the Troubadours and the early poets of Italy; a class whose enmity is the more to be dreaded, as its attacks are unrestrained by the usual checks of time and of place. The volume of controversy may be forgotten although supported by the soundest reasoning, but the song of the satirist continues to circle in constantly extending bounds, until the spirit that animates it has become familiar to every mind.

The first place in point of time belongs to the Troubadours, and the manner in which their poems were composed and made public must have contributed greatly to the extension and effect of their satires. With the song of love and hymn of triumph, were mingled reproaches against the luxury and power of Rome, and the same lyre that responded to the description of female loveliness, kept time to the details of priestly corruption. However elevated the notes of triumph, however soft and winning the strain of love, the verse of the Troubadour seems to flow with greater warmth and redoubled energy, when the vices of the church become his theme. "If God," says Raimond de Castlenau, whose verses we must beg leave to give in nearly literal prose, "if God saves those whose sole merits consist in loving good living and handsome women, if Friars, the black, the white, and Templars and Hospitlars win the joys of Paradise, great fools, in sooth, were St. Peter and St. Andrew, who suffered so much for what these win so easily."*

No less bitter was the language of the great father of Italian poetry. Without adopting the theory of Rossetti, the opinion

* Raynouard, Choix des Poésies orig. des Troubadours, Tom. IV. p. 383.

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in which the Roman court was held by Dante, is clearly apparent even to the most superficial reader of his great poem.* Not contented with placing some of the highest dignitaries of the church among the hopeless wretches of his Inferno, he goes beyond the simple bounds of satire, and, mingling theological interpretation with the fictions of verse, describes Rome as the predicted Babylon of the Apocalypse. † This doctrine, indeed, so fondly adopted by all Protestants, is said to have been anterior even to the age of Dante, and to have been supported in the eleventh century by extensive comparison and direct application. But this circumstance becomes still more striking, when the severe and inflexible spirit of Dante is found reflected in the verses of the mild and pious Petrarca. Member of the ecclesiastical body, intimate and favored resident of the Papal court, bound by the ties of interest and gratitude to some of the most distinguished prelates of the age, the vices and corruptions of the church were laid open to his observant eye without the slightest hesitation or veil. The effect of this scene upon his mind was deep and lasting. Ambition, although more than once awakened, friendship, though all-powerful over him in every other situation, even love itself, whose control over his whole life is so closely connected with every portion of his history, were unable to bind him to a spot, where he saw the crime of religious usurpation heightened by the open abandonment of every moral virtue. From his retreat in the valley of Vaucluse, his revered

* This is, as far as we know, the most recent theory upon the plan proposed to himself by Dante in the composition of the "Divina Commedia." The ingenious commentator supposes Dante to speak, not of the kingdom of the dead, but of the living; that by a bold but complex allegory he has represented the Emperor in the Deity, the Pope in Lucifer; that life signifies the Ghibelline faction, and death the Guelf. The Emperor, chief of the Ghibellines, is the protector of Italian liberty, and the Pope, head of the Guelfs, its oppressor. A part, however, has been evidently borrowed from other writers.

† The nineteenth canto of the "Inferno" contains a very striking illustration of Dante's manner of interpreting some parts of Scripture, as well as of the light in which he viewed the Roman Church. He makes a clear distinction between the church of Christ and the vices of his "vicars upon the earth," and seems to have wished for the species of reform which has been so ardently desired by many excellent Catholics of different times. For he would seem to seek rather to limit and reduce the Papal power, than subvert it. And while he points out some Pontiffs as those "di cui s' accorse 'l Vangelista," yet here and elsewhere he expresses his "riverenzia delle somme chiave."

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and dreaded voice was raised against the corruptions of the "impious Babylon." The first of his sonnets in which his views of the Roman church are clearly recorded, commences thus;

> "From impious Babylon, from whence all shame
> Hath fled, and every good is gone,
> Mother of errors, dwelling-place of grief,
> I 've fled this fragile being to prolong."

Still stronger are the 105th, beginning;

> "May flames from heaven upon thy tresses fall!"

and the 106th, which contains a vehement prophecy of the fate of the offending city;

> "Her idols on the ground shall scattered be,
> And her proud towers."

But of all the Italian poems directed against the church of Rome, the following sonnet, the 107th of Petrarca's *Canzoniere*, is the most powerful that we know of.

> "Fontana di dolore, albergo d' ira,
> Scola d' errori, e tempio d' eresìa,
> Già Roma, or Babilonia falsa e ria;
> Per cui tanto si piagne e si sospira:
> O fucina d' inganni, o prigion dira;
> Ove 'l ben more, e 'l mal si nutre, e cria;
> Di vivi inferno; un gran miracol fia,
> Se Cristo teco al fine non s' adira.
> Fondata in casta ed umil povertate,
> Contra tuoi fondatori alzi le corna,
> Putta sfacciata; e dov' hai posto spene?
> Negli adulteri tuoi, nelle mal nate
> Ricchezze tante? or Constantin non torna;
> Ma tolga il mondo tristo, che 'l sostene."

> "Fountain of sorrow, dwelling-place of ire,
> Temple of heresy, of error school,
> Once Rome, now Babylon the false.
> * * * * *

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O forge of treachery, O prison dire,
Death-place of virtue, nurse of every ill,
Hell of the living, great the miracle,
If Christ rouse not at length his tardy ire.
Founded in chaste and humble poverty,
Thy very founders have become thy scorn,
Unblushing wretch! what hope remains for thee?
In thy adulteries, riches evil born?
Think not another Constantine to see!
But on the world that bears them may thy deeds return."

The sentiments thus uttered with the warmth of verse are confirmed by the energy with which he inveighs against the same vices, in his familiar correspondence; * and the supposition which might otherwise have arisen, that they were but the exaggerations of poetry, is thus fully and satisfactorily contradicted. To these illustrious names others might be added of almost equal weight, were any other testimony required, to show that the clear minds of the Italians were, as in every thing else, foremost in discovering and laying bare the vices and corruptions of the church.

Neither are there wanting proofs of another and perhaps even stronger kind, to show how the pretensions of the Holy See were estimated by those who, from their vicinity to Rome, were most exposed to its aggressions. The history of Italy abounds with instances of a bold and independent conduct towards the church, and a resolute contempt of its censures, when employed in merely political contests. † Nor were these, like the writings of which we have been speaking, the manifestations of the opinions of a few individuals, whose

* "Nunc me occidentalis Babylon habet, qua nihil informius sol videt. In nomine Jesu, sed in operibus Belial. — Oramus flentes, ne tradas bestiis animas confidentes tibi. Nos zelo domûs tuæ, Christe Jesu, jam satis evecti sumus."—*Epistolarum sine Titulo Liber.* Ed. Basileæ, passim.

† One instance will suffice. Machiavelli thus describes a war against the Pope in the fourteenth century. "Questa guerra dall' ambizione del legato incominciata fu dallo sdegno de' Fiorentini seguita. — Durò la guerra tre anni, nè prima ebbe, che con la morte del pontefice, termine; e fu con tanta virtù e tanta soddisfazione dell' universale amministrata, che agli Otto ogni anno fu prorogato il magistrato, ed erano chiamati Santi ancorachè eglino avessero stimato poco le censure, e le chiese de' loro beni spogliate, e forzato il clero a celebrare gli uffizii: tanto quelli cittadini stimavano allora più la patria che l' anima; e dimostrarono alla Chiesa che come prima suoi amici l' avevano difesa, suoi nimici la potevano affliggere." — *Storie Fior.* Lib. III. p. 181, ed. di Padova, 1832.

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minds had been raised by superior cultivation above the standard of their age. They were the unanimous actions of whole communities. Old and young, the ignorant and the learned, the aspiring statesman, who might be supposed willing to sacrifice his religious belief to the interests of his ambition, and the humble citizen, who only sought to pursue in tranquillity the labors of his trade, all united in an unwavering resistance against the threats of ecclesiastical censure, when carried beyond the legitimate bounds of ecclesiastical jurisdiction. Without drawing a subtile distinction between the temporal and the spiritual authority of the Pope, the Italians often resisted the encroachments of the former, while they acknowledged in appearance the claims of the latter. But the constant collision between these interests, could not but diminish the veneration, which, during the most calamitous times of Italian history, was actually felt for the religious character of the Pontiffs; and the period in which Rome was apparently the religious sovereign of Europe, was also that in which it felt, most sensibly, the inconveniences arising from the conflicting elements that composed its power. Rome may thank the divisions of Italy, rather than her own skill, for the preservation of her political dominion; and it is a curious subject of reflection, that the city, which, with the power of her arms, formed, for the first and only time, one united and independent nation of Italy, has, when the doctrines of a mild and peaceful religion have been substituted for the maxims of a rigid policy and the dominion of the sword, contributed more than any other cause, or than all other causes taken together, to keep up the spirit of discord and local animosity, which seems almost to defy every effort employed for its removal.

It would evidently carry us beyond the limits of a single article, were we to attempt to trace with accuracy the various steps, by which the way was opened for the reception of the Protestant doctrines in Italy. The ground may be considered as having been prepared, long before its appearance attracted the attention of history; and in reading the chronicles of the different republics, or the lives of their distinguished citizens, we meet, at every step, the most striking proofs of the existence of an anti-Roman if not of an anti-Catholic spirit, from the earliest periods of its modern history. We shall briefly mention a few of the most remarkable steps of its progress towards a more perfect developement.

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No truth has been more strikingly confirmed by modern history, than that the progress of intellectual freedom is inevitable, however mighty the power by which it is opposed. The foresight of tyranny and the terrors of superstition have been employed against it, and in vain. It has often yielded in appearance, while secretly gaining strength for the contest; and even the most cunning and expert of its opponents, have been repeatedly deceived by the difficulty of distinguishing among the various causes in action around them, those which were calculated to facilitate, from those which were adapted to check its career.

The ardor with which the Italians engaged in the study of classic literature at the first revival of letters, was surely unconnected with any views of theological reform. But the action of polite pursuits upon the spirit of a nation, which has always been distinguished for energy and acuteness of intellect, prepared the way for the reception of religious as well as intellectual freedom. The subtile disputes which arose concerning the interpretation of Grecian philosophy, while they fomented the passion, extended also the field of controversy. But, when the attention of those, who had been formed in this school, became directed to the dogmas and doctrines of the church, their discoveries were not always accompanied by a sincere wish for the correction of abuses. Many of the bright intellects of that age, were, like Erasmus, willing to see, but unwilling to expose themselves to the penalties which follow the communication of forbidden knowledge. With others, the labors which should have led to a candid acknowledgment of the truth, terminated in a full though unacknowledged skepticism. It is well known, that, at the epoch of the Reformation in Germany, not only the universities, but the churches of Italy were filled with men, whose shining talents and profound learning had not proved sufficient to preserve them from infidelity.

Yet from sources like these, the stream of reform was to rise. The attention, which, at first, had been confined to profane literature, was gradually extended to the study of the Hebrew and its cognate dialects. An acquaintance with these, as with the Latin and Greek, became an object of literary ambition. The refinement which had been introduced into the study of Pagan authors, was then directed to the explanation of the sacred. Manuscripts were collected and collated.

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Editions of different portions of the Scriptures were from time to time prepared in the various presses of Italy. Doubts were suggested concerning the correctness of the authorized versions. While correcting the barbarisms of language, the pen was inadvertently carried to the errors of interpretation. These studies were encouraged, not only by the learned and the patrons of learning, but received new vigor from the approbation of the church itself.

Nor was this ardor confined to the learned languages. Italian versions of the New Testament had long circulated among those, who, from a love of the truths of Scripture, or a partiality for their native language, were disposed to read them. At first, the productions of men who ventured not to depart from the readings of the Vulgate, they contributed but little to the discovery or correction of errors. Still, the fact, that the Scripture existed in the vulgar idiom, and the perusal of it was not forbidden by the guardians of the Roman dogma, facilitated the introduction of exacter translations, and gave a plausible coloring to the arguments of those by whom they were made. The science which had been so successfully directed to the original texts, was, in the sequel, zealously applied to the correction of the Italian translations; and the number of the laborers who engaged in this field during the last half of the fifteenth and the first of the sixteenth centuries, prove not only the zeal of the teacher, but the ardor with which his lessons were received.

Literary curiosity, once excited, soon breaks through all restraint, and the mind which would have been the first to shrink back in the beginning of the research, is often the most ardent in the prosecution of it, when its confidence has been once shaken in its old convictions, and it is then hurried on by that necessity for belief, which forms the very basis of our intellectual nature. It cannot go calmly back to the views, which have once proved insufficient to satisfy its longings. It cannot throw off that sense of responsibility, which seems to acquire new force from every candid exertion of reason. And as, one by one, its early convictions fall from around it, it still moves on, more ardent than ever for something that it can believe, trust, cling to, in the cold and boundless space that expands to its view.

Thus, the studies which had been so warmly engaged in, in Italy, received a new impulse from the breaking out of the

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Reformation in Germany. Many Italians began to frequent the universities of that country, where the doctrines of reform were taught with all the fervor which arises from newly awakened conviction, and the boldness which accompanies security from persecution. The new views of theology usurped, for many, the place of every other pursuit, and the minds of the students became inflamed with the same zeal that animated their masters. Nor was the knowledge of these doctrines confined to those who imbibed them in the schools of Germany. The works of Luther, and Melancthon, and Zuinglius were circulated, with greater precautions, it is true, but with nearly the same success which had attended them beyond the Alps. Studied in the convents, in the schools, in Rome itself, they were often read and applauded by those, who, when they became aware of their real import, directed against them the attacks of the bitterest persecution. From the study of the writings of the Reformers, the transition to a correspondence with the writers themselves was both easy and natural. Some sought them out as men of great learning; others, as teachers of the true principles of theology. Thus, a new and broad path was opened for the introduction of the Reformation.

While the doctrines of Luther were thus gaining ground within the hallowed domains of the Church, the attention of the court of Rome, notwithstanding the earnest remonstrances of many of its devoted followers, had hardly been excited by the rapid progress of the danger that threatened it. And, when, at length, arousing from its lethargy, it began to examine the means and forces of its adversary, and seek out the measures best adapted to check or to crush them, its first steps were made with a rashness and precipitation, which can be discovered in no previous epoch of its annals. Political causes, of unprecedented weight, then came to unite their influence against the will of the Pontiff, and paralyse his efforts. The greater part of Italy was overrun by the Imperial troops. Rome was taken by assault, and the Pope was compelled to fly from the impotent thunders of the Vatican, to the narrow fortress of St. Angelo. An army, composed in a great measure of Protestants, was thus triumphant within the walls of the capital of Catholicism; and the praises of Luther and of Melancthon resounded, where, for ages, had been celebrated the proudest ceremonies of the Church. The arms of the Emperor were

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at length withdrawn, and Rome once more returned to the yoke of her ancient sovereigns; but years of watchful tyranny could alone destroy the seeds, which had spread and taken root in the compass of a few short months.

While the power of the Pope was thus shaken by the arms of an Emperor, who pretended to be the most ardent defender of the Catholic faith, the eyes of all Christendom were fixed upon Rome with doubt and amaze. It seemed as if the fatal hour of that ancient and dreaded monarchy had come. The voice of reproach and reclamation, so long neglected, had at length been heard; and the throne, from which so many bold decrees, so many daring enterprises, so many dreaded anathemas had proceeded, seemed shaken from its foundations. Some rejoiced in the prospect of approaching freedom; some trembled at the thought of the rich sources of gain which were to be for ever closed. Princes gazed with varying sensations of hope and fear, according to the fluctuations of their individual interests; the people, with joy or horror, as they recognised the hand of an avenging Providence, or feared that the face of the Almighty had been turned from them for ever. "Whence," cried the Bishop of Lipari, struck with a conviction, that not even the presence of the Pope and Cardinals could repress, "whence come these ills? Why are we subjected to so many misfortunes? It is for the corruption of the human race; it is, because we are no longer the citizens of Rome the holy, but of Babylon, the city of wickedness. The words of Isaiah have been fulfilled, 'How has the faithful become a wanton!'"

In the mean while, the progress of reform, no longer restrained by the opposition of the Roman Church, increased in extension and rapidity in every part of Italy; and the minds of many began to yield, whom a sincere attachment to Catholicism had hitherto embittered against the doctrines of Luther.

The first in the list of the protectors of Reform was a member of the royal house of France, who had been placed by marriage upon the ducal throne of Ferrara. The princess Renata had imbibed the principles of Luther, in the court of the king of Navarre; and, upon her removal to Ferrara, she extended her patronage towards them with the spirit and zeal which marked her character. Those of her countrymen, whom the rigor or dread of religious persecution had driven from

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France, were received and protected at her court. Clement Marot, distinguished both as a Protestant and a poet, was elevated to the rank of her private secretary. Many others were met with a judicious patronage, which, while it won their affections, and consoled them amid the sorrows of exile, secured them, at the same time, from the attacks of courtly jealousy or ecclesiastical persecution. Calvin, under an assumed name, passed several months at Ferrara, in free and confidential communication with the Duchess. The propagation of her favorite doctrines was rendered still more sure, by the introduction into the principal chairs of the University, of many who had secretly adopted or warmly favored them; and, while these contributed to the extension of their principles by their public lessons, the minds of the future rulers of Ferrara were prepared to view them with favor by the instructions of their private tutors. Ferrara was the school of Protestantism in Italy; and there was scarcely one of its distinguished partisans, who was not for a greater or less period, a sharer in the protection of Renata.

Nor was the success of the Reformation less rapid in the neighbouring city of Modena. It was not secured here, as in Ferrara, by the protection of a princess, but was owing, in a great measure, to the free discussions of a society of men distinguished for their attainments in science and literature. The study and interpretation of the Scriptures occupied every mind; and the teachers of the Reformed religion, venturing beyond the bounds which had restrained their brethren of Ferrara, united their auditors into regular assemblies, and enjoyed for a time the open exercise of their rights, with all the advantages of a free religious communion.

In a sketch like the present, it would be useless to trace the course of the reform from city to city, as it extended with various degrees of success through the different states of Italy. Subject to the influences of political and individual interest, encountering at times the firm opposition of sincere conviction, at others, the virulent attacks of selfish hatred, it moved in some places with the boldness of a successful revolutionist, in others, with the cautious secrecy of a determined but prudent reformer. In Bologna it embraced in its ranks many of the brightest names of the University, as well as some of the most distinguished citizens. A correspondence was warmly carried on with the Reformers of Germany; and, had the

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struggle between the two sects broken out into open warfare, one of the new converts was prepared to defend his faith with the swords of six thousand men, raised and supported at his own expense. Among the early converts of Naples, we meet the names of Ochino, a monk of the austere order of Capuchins, and one of the most renowned preachers of his age; of Mollio and Martire, who in the silence of the cloister had stored their minds with the profoundest erudition; and of Valdes, who in the public capacity of viceroy to the kingdom, possessed the means of protecting those whom his arguments and persuasions had converted. And here we may remark, that if the alleged corruptions of the church were nowhere carried to so great an excess as within the walls of its convents, it was from the quiet repose of the same institutions that arose the noblest advocates of reform. Strange and mysterious contradiction! that the source which had corrupted, should be the foremost to purify; that the same soil which had produced the poison, should raise up the antidote by its side!

Of all the states of Italy, there was none from which the friends of reform might have so justly looked for encouragement and protection, as the republic of Venice. This wonderful nation, the course and principles of whose government differed so widely from those of every other, seldom allowed any consideration of regard for foreign powers to influence its domestic policy. Innumerable had been the artifices, unwearied the efforts of the Roman pontiffs, to extend their control over the state of Venice, as they had succeeded in doing throughout the rest of Europe. But the Venetian senate, with an equal share of constancy, and a boldness not diminished by any excess of superstition,* had from the earliest periods

* In fact, no government was less superstitious; and the only question that could arise, would be whether it did not incline too evidently to the opposite extreme. Such, at least, was the opinion of some of the popes. The following anecdote was related to us by *the* great Italian historian of our age, and may serve in corroboration of the above statement. During one of the numerous contests between the Venetian Senate and the Holy See, the ambassador of the republic, in a private audience, so far excited the indignation of the Pope, that he at last broke through all bounds, and accused the Venetians of being nearly infidels. "Voi altri signori Veneziani appena credete alla santissima Trinità," gridò il pontefice. "E le par poco, Santità?" was the reply of the ambassador. "*You Venetians hardly believe in the Holy Trinity!*" "*And does your Holiness think that little?*"

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of their history, met the efforts of the Roman court, with a firm and successful opposition. This long and varied struggle was carried on with greater or less animosity, in proportion to the concurrent action of other causes; but never so far subsided, as to give room for a durable union, or a communication, free from suspicion and jealousy. When, therefore, the Protestant reform first began to attract the attention of the Italians, it was to the Venetians that the eyes of all the friends of religious freedom were directed, and the motives of that cautious and independent government were observed with an interest proportioned to the importance of the question which was at stake. The works of the Reformers formed a fruitful source of gain for the booksellers of the republic, and her presses were employed in multiplying the copies of the Scriptures, which were considered by all parties as the principal support of the Protestant cause. The doctrines of Germany and Switzerland soon began to spread among the Venetians. In the course of a few months, the capital contained an extensive society of learned men, who openly avowed the principles of Luther. The effect of their influence and example was soon felt in other parts of the same dominions. Every day gave new strength to the party. From individual profession, they gradually advanced to public unions; and their cause was supposed to have excited more than usual interest in the senate. Nor in fact, could the important political advantages, that might have been secured by means of a religious reform, have escaped the observation of men, trained by long practice to consider every thing with a view to the aggrandizement or additional security of their possessions. But little seems to have been wanting, in order to throw into the Protestant scale the powerful political interest of Venice; that interest, before which every other consideration was made to bend. So confident of success were the Protestants of Germany, that Melancthon addressed a letter to the senate, in which he congratulated them upon what they had done, and urged them to further action. But the unsettled state of her relations with the court of Constantinople, rendered the favor of Rome essential to the safety of Venice; and the adherence of this mighty power to the Catholic religion may be attributed, in some measure, to the greatest enemy of that faith.

The change, which might have been naturally expected from the government of Venice, was nearly upon the point of

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being accomplished in Lucca, by the daring and enthusiasm of a single individual. The Reformation which had taken such strong hold in different sections of Italy, had nowhere found a more ready welcome than among the citizens of Lucca. Extending there, with the same rapid progress which we have already observed in Venice, and Naples, and Ferrara, its principles were soon embraced by a considerable portion of the most respectable among the inhabitants. Political motives united their influence with the love of religious liberty; and Lucca was upon the point of becoming the theatre of one of the greatest revolutions, that ever changed the face of a state.

Among the citizens whom the free principles of this government had elevated to a rank apparently inconsistent with the humble profession which he exercised, was Francis Burlamaqui, *an artisan of the middle class. Endowed by nature* with a studious and reflective cast of mind, this man had constantly united with the necessary labors of his trade, the study of ancient history, and particularly of those portions, in which the exertions of private individuals, in favor of their native cities, have been embellished by the eloquence of the great historians of Greece and Rome. From a constant meditation of these enticing examples, the humble artisan of Lucca was led to seek, for his own name, a renown like theirs; and the situation which he then held, of Gonfaloniere, or chief magistrate of the republic, seemed to give new facilities for the accomplishment of his views. But Burlamaqui united with the warm imagination of a reformer, the coolness of judgment and political sagacity, essential to the success of reform. And while his patriotism was kindled by the prospect of restoring Tuscany to her ancient grandeur, he grounded his hopes of success upon the political situation of Italy and of Europe. Florence, not yet formed to the yoke of an artful and ambitious tyrant, was fondly, although secretly, cherishing the remembrance of her lately lost freedom. Pisa, desolated by war, deprived of commerce, her once fertile fields vanishing beneath the accumulating masses of stagnant water, her municipal pride and glorious recollections lost in the degrading consciousness of an odious dependence; Siena, torn by divisions, and ready to fall a prey to the same insatiable ambition; Perugia, Bologna, every portion of Italy, hesitating between the desire of freedom and the dread of increasing the yoke that already weighed too heavily; these were the circumstances,

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in the situation of his own country, which nourished the hopes and inflamed the zeal of Burlamaqui. Nor was the prospect less encouraging, when considered from another point of view. The Emperor, whose activity was the most to be apprehended, was engaged in the war against the Protestants of Germany, in support of which he had drawn away from Italy the greater part of his own troops, together with those of his allies, the Pope and Cosimo of Tuscany. Thus the defence of all the important posts in the country was intrusted to the hands of a few soldiers, and those none of the best, while the great distance of the papal and ducal armies from the points which were first to be attacked, rendered it impossible for them to be recalled, in time to prevent the effects of a sudden assault on the part of the conspirators. The progress of the Emperor, moreover, in his German war, was not calculated to inspire his adherents with very ardent hopes of a successful issue; while, on the contrary, the firm resistance and rapid movements of the Protestants had filled the minds of their partisans with the most cheering confidence. But one of the most encouraging circumstances in the political aspect of the moment, was the deep-rooted hostility, that subsisted between the Emperor and the French, and which led them to embrace every species of alliance, and resort to all kinds of expedients, in order to gratify their mutual animosity.

In order, however, to unite the feelings of those whom he wished to liberate, it was necessary to raise a new standard, as well for religion as for their political state. This was supplied by the progress of the Lutheran Reformation, and the favor with which the advocates of religious freedom were viewed in Italy. Thus the revival of the old Etruscan league, and the introduction of the Protestant religion, or, in other words, the full establishment of religious and political liberty, was the vision that constantly floated before the mind of the enthusiastic Lucchese.

The plan which he had conceived with so much boldness, he prepared for execution with cool and cautious judgment. By habitually making the original felicity of Tuscany the topic of his conversation, he familiarized the minds of the friends, whom he designed to employ, with the subject of his desires, and prepared the way for a more direct and explicit avowal of his plans. His first confidant was a member of his own family, whose faith and zeal he had fully tested. The number of

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the conspirators was gradually enlarged with all the precautions which so dangerous an undertaking required, and soon comprised the principal refugees of Florence and Siena, and other states, together with the wealthy and daring Strozzi, who were to bring with them the favor and aid of France. Already confident in his numbers, Burlamaqui urged to immediate action; and had not his wishes been overruled by the authority of the Strozzi, so well arranged were all the plans of the conspiracy, and so well timed the moment for its breaking out, that its success would in all probability have been complete. Compelled by his companions to delay, he still continued to strengthen his party by new accessions, chiefly made among the exiles, when an unfortunate communication of one of his companions defeated all the labors of his prudence, and consigned him to the hands of the executioner.

The desire to comprise in one sketch the principal events, which distinguished the rise of the Protestant religion in Italy, has led us a few years in advance of the first efforts of the Roman court for the suppression of it. Notwithstanding the severe shock which the papal power had received from the arms of Bourbon, the attachment of the Emperor to the religion in which he had been educated, or, as seems more probable, the close connexion between his political interests and those of the Roman See, had bound him by a tie of which he always acknowledged the force, to exert all his power for the preservation of Catholicism. And thus, although in the course of his subsequent operations, great and dangerous disputes frequently arose between him and the popes, and he was more than once induced to threaten an open rupture, yet the preservation of the Catholic religion always continued to form a favorite point of his policy, and was pursued even at the hazard of important parts of his dominions. Had the same unity of motive prevailed in the minds of the pontiffs, who, during his long reign, were successively called to the papal throne, the progress of the reform in Italy would have been checked at a much earlier period of its course. But the disadvantages inherent in the union of spiritual with temporal power, were never more apparent than during the period which we are considering. The exertions which should have been solely directed to one object, were enfeebled by a division of interests. Of one kind were the views of the temporal, of another those of the spiritual ruler. The attention of the pontiff was con-

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stantly divided between schemes for the aggrandizement of the papal supremacy, and others, no less warmly pursued, for the extension of the dominions of the church. Thus while, urged on the one hand by his pastoral duties, he courted the favor of a particular sovereign, he was on the other, as a temporal prince, often constrained to oppose the same monarch by skilful negotiations, and sometimes even by open war. If to these we add the further embarrassments of family ambition, and the disputes and wars which were frequently excited for, or by, the pope's relations, we shall be convinced, that, if Rome surpassed all other courts in the refinement of her policy, nothing short of that perfection could have held together the conflicting elements which composed her power.

There were two periods in the struggle between the Protestant and Catholic religion, in which the friends of a peaceful union were cheered with the prospect of a termination of the great question of reform, by mutual concessions of the contending parties. The first was upon the elevation of Adrian to the chair, made vacant by the death of Leo X.; the second, at the accession of Marcellus II. But the opposition which the first of these sincere and pious men encountered among the members of his court, and the premature death of the other, effectually closed the door against all reconciliation, by placing upon the throne a series of pontiffs, who cared less for the interests of religion, than for the enlargement of their temporal dominions. So strongly in fact, were they attached to the latter, that the repeated reclamations of several zealous Catholics upon the rapid extension of the Protestant opinions, were received with a degree of coldness, which it is difficult to account for, in a power so jealous of its prerogative. But when these reports began to thicken and assume the tone of warning and remonstrance, Rome was at length aroused from its lethargy, and began to seek out the most efficient means of defence. The remedy was the more terrible for having been so long delayed.

The Inquisition, that terrific tribunal, whose movements neither power nor pity could affect, which was blinded by ambition to the real interests of its order, and hardened by fanaticism against the voice of compassion, was the first object towards which the court of Rome directed its attention, in the hope of reëstablishing its shattered authority. The success which had attended the operations of this institution in Spain,

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and the dread which it everywhere inspired, increased the ardor with which its erection was called for by those, who believed all means holy which were employed for the preservation of the Catholic religion. But the same circumstances which contributed to strengthen its power, increased the difficulties which attended its erection. The opposition arose not from the people alone, but in many instances from their rulers also, who looked upon the Inquisition rather as an instrument for the confirmation of the Roman prerogative, than as a useful means of preserving the Roman dogma.

In Rome itself, where the spiritual and temporal power were united, the establishment of the "Holy Office" was comparatively easy. But the frightful tumults and wild excesses which followed the death of Paul IV., its warmest advocate, are sufficient to show in what light it was viewed by the immediate subjects of the church. In Venice, its action was generally more or less subject to the control of the civil authority, and it was rarely left free to follow its own relentless course. But in Naples, the authority of the Emperor, although supported by the cool barbarity of his viceroy, and the strong arm of a powerful garrison, was nearly overthrown, by the simple proposal for its establishment. And even when the Neapolitans, abandoned by all those to whom they had looked for succor, and intimidated by the near approach of an overwhelming force, were constrained to submit to the will of their sovereign, so strong had been the expression of popular feeling, that the Emperor gladly renounced all thoughts of the odious tribunal.

But the dread, which was so justly entertained of the Roman court, was founded rather upon its profound artifice, than its real power; and the designs, which it was apparently compelled to abandon, were often no less successful than those which it openly pursued. Neither the fears of the people, nor the jealousy of government, availed to prevent the erection of the Inquisition. In some of the minor states, it was received from respect to the papal power. Others were led to accept its jurisdiction, by means of advantageous offers or judicious flattery. While they who viewed it with most abhorrence, were induced to submit to its control, by the artful distinction which was made between the Inquisition of Italy, and that of Spain. Rome was alike triumphant over prejudice and power, over the people and their rulers.

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The consequences of this triumph were soon apparent throughout every portion of Italy. Neither wealth, nor rank, the privileges of republics, nor the favor of kings, were a safeguard against the arms of the Inquisition. The timid convert who confined his belief to the privacy of his own bosom, and the enthusiastic proselyte who boldly courted the crown of martyrdom, were equally exposed to accusation and trial. The cassock and the cowl were no longer a protection; monks were drawn forth from the secrecy of their cloisters, the learned from the seclusion of their studies; the sanctity of domestic life was violated, and even the throne itself only served to mitigate the punishment of its suspected occupants. Suspicion and fear usurped the place of that free communication which constitutes the chief charm of society; each unguarded expression gave rise to accusation; and private enmity often sought its vengeance under the cloak of religious zeal. A deep and voiceless terror pervaded the whole of Italy.*

Nor was it an empty dread of some indefinite evil. Ochino was compelled to fly for life, and take refuge in Geneva; Martire to abandon the church which he had so fondly planted in Lucca. Carnesecchi, the confidant and friend of princes, was sent from the table of Cosimo, to the stake prepared for him by Paul IV. One by one the Protestant leaders were subjected to the attacks of the Inquisition; and happy were they, who, by prompt and painful flight, were able to exchange the sweets of home, and the security of independent fortunes, for a foreign land, and the bitter bread of a stranger's compassion. The racks and dungeons of the Inquisition were soon found insufficient to satisfy the rage of persecution. The flames of the stake were again kindled in the same spots, where, but a little more than a thousand years before, the foundations of the church had been laid amid the bones and ashes of its martyrs. At the same time the sword was laying waste those portions, which the slower arm of the Inquisitor could not reach.†

Happy were the subjects of Venice; for there, instead of the stake, and the robe of pitch, and the applause of an im-

* Botta, Lib. xii. p. 181.

† We would refer our readers, for a perfect description of one of the modes of torture, to the eloquent story in "Outre Mer," entitled the "Baptism of Fire."

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placable multitude, the depths of the Adriatic and the silence of midnight, were the means and the scene of martyrdom. Happy too were they, who, through the intercession of powerful friends, were kept back from the flames, until life had been destroyed by the cord or the sword of the executioner. And although we may shudder to think of those, who, in the flower of life, were brought out to die a death of torture in the presence of their fellow men, and in the pure light of day, happy too were they, when compared with the far greater proportion, whose fate is still concealed in the dark archives of the Inquisition.

We have already alluded to the Waldenses of Piedmont. Colonies from these secluded valleys had long been established in southern Italy; and the fruits of their industry were everywhere to be seen, in the populous towns which they had founded, and the fertile fields which they had redeemed from the forests and marshes of Calabria. Devoted to agriculture, and industrious as much from habit as by necessity, their sober and secluded lives had never attracted much of the attention of their Catholic neighbours. Contented with the privilege of enjoying their own opinions, they cared not to inquire into those of others, and confined themselves to that quiet and unpretending mode of life, which is the only safeguard of those whose existence is rather tolerated than acknowledged. But when the fame of the religious revolution in Germany reached them, the sectarian pride which had so long lain dormant, was raised to a dangerous pitch. Calling to their assistance teachers from the Protestant cantons of Switzerland, they first reformed the abuses which had insensibly crept into their own worship, and then began to venture upon the dangerous task of reforming their Catholic neighbours. We are far from believing that, amid the general persecutions of Italy, they would have been suffered to escape, even if they had not abandoned the course which they had so long followed in safety. But it certainly could not be expected, that the Catholic party should view their efforts at proselytism without opposing them. Tremendous in fact was the persecution that ensued, and they who escaped the snares, and withstood the persuasions of their adversaries, were driven for shelter to the forests and mountains, where, hunted like beasts of prey, some fell by the sword, and others, less happy, perished by famine, in the desolate caverns that had given

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them a last asylum. The greater portion being thus cut off, the few who had fallen alive into the hands of their enemies were reserved for every species of torture, perishing by the knife, at the stake, precipitated from the summits of lofty towers, or stifled by the foul air of damp and crowded dungeons.

Thus fell the Protestant religion in Italy. Its end was everywhere attended with the same horrors, and its history is but a repetition of racks, and dungeons, and stakes. Terrible period! when the powers of the human mind seem to have acquired a greater developement, only in order to open a broader field of suffering; and the convictions which should inspire sentiments of calm and beneficent philanthropy, served as stronger stimulants to ferocious persecution. Bitter, and even more humiliating than bitter, are the scenes that we have traced; but bitterer still is the reflection, that the spirit which distinguished them is still alive, and that in our own, as in every other age, the persecuted but awaits a moment of success, to seize, for his own use, the arms of the persecutor. Happy are we, not that our passions are milder, but that our laws are better; and that persecution, from being a moral, has become also a political crime.

ART. X.— 1. *A Discourse on the Studies of the University*, by ADAM SEDGWICK, M. A., F. R. S., Woodwardian Professor and Fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge. Fourth Edition. Cambridge, 1835. 8vo. pp. 157.

2. *Alma Mater, or Seven Years at the University of Cambridge.* By a Trinity Man. London; Black & Torry & Torry. 1827. Two Volumes. 12mo. pp. 323 and 272.

3. *The Cambridge University Calendar for the year* 1830. Cambridge. 18mo. pp. 464.

THE spirit of English reform has not spared the two great Universities, the pride and glory of the United Kingdom. Their close connexion with church and state has naturally turned the sharpest scrutiny of Reformers and Radicals to their real or supposed abuses; and many violent attacks have

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been made upon these time-hallowed seats of learning. As is common in such cases, the unjustifiable harshness which has been dealt upon them, has been met by an uncompromising spirit of resistance on the part of their friends. There appears to be a great deal of wilful blindness on both sides. The wants of different ages require changes in great institutions, which their governors are not always willing to permit; and there are difficulties in the way of changing long-established usages and methods, for which heated reformers make no allowance. Let us hope, that the resultant of these two clashing forces will be in the direction of wisdom and common sense. One thing is pretty certain, that the most violent clamorers for alterations in long-established systems of education, are those who know least about any system; and the remark is true both of England and the United States. It is no uncommon thing to find beardless boys, under the inspiration of this precocious age, passing bold and unhesitating judgments upon institutions founded by the wisdom, and cherished by the zeal, of our sturdy ancestors; weighing systems of study, in the scales of their puny understandings, and finding them wanting, though the sagacity, learning, and experience of men grown gray in the high places of church and state, have been exhausted in devising them. We venture to say, there never was a period in which speculations on the subject of liberal education were so abundant in showy confidence of assertion, accompanied by real and disgraceful ignorance.

We strongly suspect that all sound thinkers will, sooner or later, settle down in the conviction, that the great principles of university education, as established in England and among us, are the true ones. They are true, because they are founded in the nature of man. Unquestionably the basis of all just thinking, in literature, science, art, and philosophy, must be laid in a knowledge of the ancient classics, the mathematics, and intellectual philosophy. Moral philosophy and theology are concerned with the everlasting interests of man, and belong to every form of education. These are the branches of study, which the greatest minds of England and the United States have decided to be the most important for intellectual discipline, and the formation of taste. Is not their decision just? The histories of both countries, the great men to whom English liberty and English literature owe their support,

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the heroes and statesmen to whom we owe our national existence, and our constitution its perpetual illustration and defence, what are they but so many standing witnesses to the deep wisdom, in which our institutions for the education of young men have been founded?

But our present purpose is not to go into a discussion upon the great principles of university education. In this paper, we propose merely to give a brief account of the University of Cambridge, in England. We shall offer a concise description of its government; its course of studies, with the forms and methods of examination; its degrees and other honors; and, in conclusion, a few sketches of college life, which appear to us to be worthy of notice, as compared with college life in this country.

The University of Cambridge is a society of students in all the liberal arts and sciences, incorporated by the name of the Chancellor, Masters, and Scholars of the University of Cambridge. It consists of seventeen colleges, each of which is a body corporate, and bound by its own statutes; but they are all subject to the paramount laws of the University. Each college furnishes members both for the executive and legislative branches of the government. The legislative branch of the government consists of the two divisions of the Senate, and a council called the Caput. The senate consists of all who are masters of arts, or doctors in either of the three faculties, divinity, civil law, or physic, having their names on the college boards, holding any office in the University, or being resident in the town of Cambridge. They generally number about two thousand. They are divided into two classes, called the regents and the non-regents. The regents, or members of the upper house, or white-hood house, as it is called from the members wearing hoods lined with white silk, are masters of arts of less than five years' standing, and doctors of less than two. The non-regent or lower house, called also the black-hood house, from the members wearing black silk hoods, includes all the rest. But doctors of more than two years' standing, and the public orator of the University, may vote in either house.

The council, called the Caput, consists of the vice-chancellor, a doctor in each of the faculties, divinity, civil law, and physic, and two masters of arts to represent the regent and non-regent houses. The vice-chancellor is a

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member of the caput, by virtue of his office. The other members of this council are chosen as follows. The vice-chancellor and the two proctors nominate severally five persons; and out of these fifteen, the heads of colleges, doctors, and scrutators elect five, commonly honoring the vice-chancellor's list with the appointment. Every proposition of a university law, or grace, must be approved by the caput, every member having a negative voice, before it can be presented to the consideration of the two houses of the senate.

Meetings for the transaction of university business, called congregations, are held about once a fortnight, and a list of the days of such meetings is published by the vice-chancellor at the beginning of each term. The vice-chancellor may call the senate together for the despatch of extraordinary affairs, at other times, by causing a printed notice, specifying the business, to be hung up in the halls of the several colleges, three days before the time of assembly. Any number of the senate, not less than twenty-five, including the proper officers, constitute a quorum, and may proceed to business. Besides these meetings, there are others called statutable congregations, or days of assembly enjoined by the statutes, for the ordinary routine of university affairs, such as conferring degrees, electing officers, &c., for which no special notice is required. A congregation may also be held without three days' notice, provided forty members of the senate be present. Every member has a right to bring any proposition or grace before the senate, if it has been previously approved by the caput. When it has passed the caput, it is read in the non-regent house by one of the scrutators, and in the regent house by the senior proctor. It is read in like manner at the second congregation. If a *non placet* is put in by a member of the non-regent house, the vote is then taken. If the number of *non placets* equals or exceeds the number of *placets*, the grace is thrown out. If the *placets* are more than the *non placets*, it is carried up to the regent house, and there undergoes the same process. If it passes through both houses, it is considered a regular act of the senate, and if the subject be of a public nature, it becomes a statute. No degree is conferred without a grace, which passes through the process above described. A grace of this kind is called a *supplicat*. Those for bachelor of arts, honorary degrees, and masters of arts of King's College, require to be read at one congregation only.

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The executive of the University consists of the following officers:

The chancellor. This officer is the head of the University, and has sole authority within the precincts, except in cases of mayhem and felony. He seals the diplomas and letters of degrees, &c. given by the University, defends its rights and privileges, convokes assemblies, and administers justice to the members under his jurisdiction.

The high steward, who has the power of trying scholars impeached of felony within the limits of the University, and to hold and keep a leet according to the established charter and custom. He appoints a deputy by letters patent, which are confirmed by a grace of the senate.

The vice-chancellor. This officer is elected annually by the senate, on the 4th of November, and, as his title indicates, has the power of the chancellor, in the government of the University, and the execution of the statutes, when the chancellor is absent. He is required, by an order made in 1587, to be the head of some college; and he acts as a magistrate for the University and county.

The commissary is an officer under the chancellor, and holds a court of record for all privileged persons and scholars under the degree of M. A. for the trial of causes by the civil and statute law, and by the custom of the University.

The public orator writes, reads, and records the letters to and from the body of the senate, and presents to all honorary degrees with an appropriate speech.

The assessor is an officer specially appointed by grace of the senate, to assist the vice-chancellor *in causis forensibus et domesticis*.

The two proctors are peace officers, annually elected. They must be masters of arts, of at least two years' standing, and are regents by virtue of their office. Their duty is to watch over the discipline of all persons *in statu pupillari*, to search houses of ill fame, and take into custody loose and abandoned or suspected women. They are also required to be present at all congregations of the senate, to stand in scrutiny with the chancellor or vice-chancellor, to take the suffrages of the house, both by word and writing, to read them and declare the assent or dissent accordingly, to read the graces in the regent house, to take secretly the assent or dissent, and openly to pronounce the same.

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The librarian's duties are designated by his title. The registrary is required, either by himself or deputy, to attend all congregations, to direct the form of the graces to be propounded, and to enter them on the university records, when they have passed both houses. He also registers the seniority of such as proceed annually in any of the arts and faculties, according to the schedules furnished him by the proctors. — The two taxors are masters of arts, and regents by virtue of their office. They regulate the markets, examine the assize of bread, the lawfulness of weights and measures, and call the abuses thereof into the commissary's court. — The scrutators are non-regents. Their duty is to attend all congregations, to read the graces in the lower house, to take the votes secretly or openly, and to declare the assent or dissent of that house. — The moderators are nominated by the proctors, and appointed by a grace of the senate. They superintend the exercises and disputations in philosophy, and the examinations for the degree of bachelor of arts, in the place of the proctors. — The three esquire bedells are required to precede the vice-chancellor with silver maces, upon all public occasions and solemnities. They bring the doctors present in the regent house to open scrutiny, there to deliver their suffrages by word or writing; they receive the graces from the vice-chancellor and caput, and deliver them first to the scrutators in the lower house, and, if they are granted, carry them to the proctors in the upper house. They attend the professors and respondents in the three faculties, from their colleges to the schools, and during the continuance of the several acts. They collect fines from the members of the University, and summon the members of the senate to the chancellor's court. — The university printer, the library-keeper, the under library-keeper, and the school-keeper, are elected by the body at large; the yeoman bedell is appointed by letters patent under the hand and seal of the chancellor; and the university marshal, in the same manner, by the vice-chancellor.

The University has two courts of law, the consistory court of the chancellor, and the consistory court of the commissary. The former is held by the chancellor, or in his absence, by the vice-chancellor, assisted by some of the heads of colleges, and one or more doctors of the civil law. All pleas and actions personal, as of debts, accounts, contracts, &c., or of any injury begun or grown within the limits of the University,

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and not concerning mayhem and felony, are heard and decided in this court, and the manner of the proceeding is according to the civil law. An appeal lies from this court to the senate. The latter is held by the commissary, acting by authority deputed to him under the seal of the chancellor. He takes knowledge and proceeds in all causes, as above, except that causes and suits to which the proctors or taxors, or any of them, or a master of arts, or any other of superior degree is a party, are reserved to the jurisdiction of the chancellor or vice-chancellor. The manner of proceeding is the same in this as in the other court; and the party aggrieved is allowed, by statute, an appeal to the chancellor's court, and from thence to the delegates, if the cause and grief of the party render such application necessary.

The two members sent by the University to Parliament are chosen by the senate. The university counsel are appointed by grace of the senate, and the solicitor is appointed by the vice-chancellor. The syndics are members of the senate, chosen to transact all special affairs of the University. The professors have stipends allowed from various sources, from the university chest, from government, or from estates left for that purpose. The annual income of the university chest is about £16,000, and the annual expenditure about £12,000. The funds are under the management of the vice-chancellor, and the accounts are examined by three auditors, appointed annually by the senate. The terms of the University are three. The October or Michaelmas term begins on the 10th of October, and ends on the 16th of December; Lent, or January term, begins on the 13th of January, and ends on the Friday before Palm Sunday; Easter or Midsummer term begins on the 11th day after Easter day, and ends on the Friday after commencement, which is always the first Tuesday in July.

The seventeen colleges of the University were founded by different individuals, all of whom enjoined, first, the cultivation of religion, and then of polite literature and the sciences. The statutes of some of the colleges require the fellows to be born in England, in particular counties, &c. The fellowships at Trinity, St. John's, Sidney, Downing, Clare Hall, and Trinity Hall, are open to all competitors, and there is the following law with regard to all; "Whosoever hath one English parent, although he be born in another country, shall be

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esteemed as if born in that county to which his English parent belonged. But if both parents were English, he shall be reckoned of that county to which his father belonged." Stat. Acad. p. 268.

The orders in the different colleges are, 1. A head of a college or house, who is generally a doctor in divinity; excepting of Trinity Hall, Caius College, and Downing College, where they may be doctors in civil law or physic. The head of King's College is styled Provost; of Queen's, President; all the rest, Master. 2. Fellows, generally doctors in divinity, civil law, or physic; bachelors in divinity; masters or bachelors of arts; a few bachelors in civil law or physic, as at Trinity Hall and Caius College. The number of fellowships in the University is 408. 3. Noblemen graduates; doctors in the several faculties, bachelors in divinity, who have been masters of arts, and masters of arts, not on the foundation, but whose names are kept on the boards for the purpose of being members of the senate. 4. Graduates, neither members of the senate, nor *in statu pupillari*, are bachelors in divinity, denominated four-and-twenty men, or ten-year men, so called because persons admitted at any college, when twenty-four years of age and upwards, are allowed to take the degree of bachelor in divinity after their names have remained on the boards ten years. During the last two years they must reside in the University the greater part of three several terms, and perform the exercises required by the statutes. 5. Bachelors in civil law and physic, who sometimes keep their names on the boards till they become doctors. 6. Bachelors of arts, who are *in statu pupillari*, and pay for tuition, whether resident or not, and keep their names on the boards, for the purpose of becoming candidates for fellowships, or members of the senate. 7. Fellow commoners, generally younger sons of the nobility or young men of fortune, who have the privilege of dining at the fellows' table. 8. Pensioners and scholars. The number of scholarships and exhibitions in the University is upwards of 700. 9. Sizars, men of inferior fortune, who usually have their commons free, and receive various emoluments.

Such is a brief sketch of the government and orders of the University of Cambridge, for which we are mainly indebted to the University Calendar, a work of great interest and value. It contains a vast variety of other particulars, such as

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lists of professors, and the subjects of their lectures, together with a number of examination papers, to which we shall have occasion again to refer. The course of studies is admirably adapted to task the intellectual powers of young men, and the honors awarded to superior merit excite the young men of England to astonishing efforts. The Discourse of Professor Sedgwick, on the Studies at Cambridge, is a very remarkable work. He takes a comprehensive view of the Cambridge course, in a spirit of wide philosophy and perfect candor. He does not allow his connexion with the University to blind him to its defects, or check him from freely exposing them.

This discourse was pronounced by Professor Sedgwick, in the chapel of Trinity College, on the annual commemoration day, in December, 1832, and was published at the request of the junior members of that society. It has gone through at least four editions already, and has gained for its author a high reputation, as a vigorous thinker and an admirable writer. He examines the Cambridge studies under the three divisions of, 1. The study of the laws of nature, comprehending all parts of inductive philosophy. 2. The study of ancient literature, as furnishing examples and maxims of prudence, and models of taste. 3. The study of ourselves, considered as individuals and as social beings.

Under the first head, Mr. Sedgwick enters into an elaborate description of the objects to which the study of nature is directed, and the effects which that study must produce on the well-balanced mind. He shows, with great ingenuity of argument, and force and beauty of language, the connection between physical science and natural theology. This study furnishes subjects of lofty contemplation, and gives the mind a habit of abstraction, most difficult to acquire by ordinary means, but of inestimable value in the business of life. It tends to repress a spirit of arrogance and intellectual pride, and leads to simplicity of character and love of truth. It teaches man to see the hand of God in the works of nature, and gives him an exalted conception of his attributes, by showing the beauty, harmony, and order of creation, as manifested in the remotest consequences of the laws, by which material things are bound together, and act upon each other. The external world proves the being of God by addressing the imagination, and informing the reason. It is so fitted to our imaginative powers as to give them

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some perception of the attributes of God, and this adaptation is a proof of his existence. But the proofs which appeal to the reasoning faculties are stronger and more direct. The contrivance manifested in the bodily organs of every being possessed of life, — organs produced by powers of vast complexity, and understood only in their effects, — proves design, and is a display of an intelligent superintending power. The conclusion leads to the inevitable belief that inanimate nature is the production of the same overruling Intelligence. This structure of organic bodies proves design, and the proof becomes more striking and impressive, when we view the adaptation of their organs to the condition of the material world. We thus link together all nature as one harmonious whole. The concluding part of this branch of the discussion is devoted to the science of geology, in which Mr. Sedgwick very ably describes the surprising views, which that science unfolds, of the history of our earth and the various revolutions it has undergone. He refutes the theory, that the present state of things, and the existence of the human race, are simply the result of organic changes, as held by some philosophers; and attempts to prove that the successive races of beings, which have dwelt upon the earth, ending with mankind, are the production of an immediate creative energy.

In the second branch of the discussion, Mr. Sedgwick examines the claims of classical learning to be made a part of early and of university education. He shows that the study of language is peculiarly fitted to childhood, on account of the wonderful facility with which words are acquired and remembered at that period of life. But this readiness of verbal acquisition begins to fail with most persons, when the memory has become stored with words, and the mind accustomed to their application. The study of languages, therefore, has been wisely made a part of early discipline, and the student gains access by it, to those magazines of thought, in which the intellectual treasures of a nation are collected, as soon as he is capable of comprehending their value and turning them to good account. And as the body gains strength and grace by exercise, so the imaginative powers are strengthened, and the taste improved, by the study of models of high excellence. If it be objected, that life is too short, and the multitude of things pressing on our attention too great, to allow the classics to be made a leading part of academic

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education, it may be briefly replied, that the best literature of modern Europe is drawn from classic sources, and cast in the classic mould; and cannot be felt and understood, as it ought to be, without a previous knowledge of the classics. If this reply is not sufficient, then it may be further and unanswerably urged, that the classics are a necessary help to the interpretation of the sacred Scriptures, in which the moral destinies of men are written. But, though Professor Sedgwick is satisfied with the strength of the argument in favor of classical learning, he doubts whether those studies have been wisely pursued in the University of Cambridge. While he speaks with becoming respect of the great names of Bentley and Porson, in whose hands the science of verbal criticism, generally so trifling and fruitless, was made to illuminate obscure points in history, and detect sophistry, yet even in their case he thinks there is reason to regret, that so little of their time was employed upon objects worthy of their gigantic powers. He believes that for the last fifty years, the classical studies of Cambridge have been too critical and formal, and that the imagination and taste might be more wisely cultivated, than by giving so much time and labor to pursuits which, after all, end in mere verbal imitations. Mr. Sedgwick proceeds to point out the advantages of one department of verbal criticism, which, he says, has often been overlooked, or set at naught. As words are the signs of thought and the expression of feelings, if we find in the ancient writers those which describe virtue and vice, honor and dishonor, guilt and shame, &c., coupled with epithets of praise or condemnation, we may be sure that these things existed as realities before they became words, at least in the minds of those who built up the ancient languages. By studying languages in this spirit, we find at every step of our progress a series of moral judgments, which have been forced upon men by the very condition of their existence. Mr. Sedgwick is of opinion, that the ethical writings of the ancients are deserving of more study and attention than they have hitherto received; that many of the writers of antiquity had correct notions on the subject of natural religion, and that the argument for the being of a God, derived from final causes, is as well stated in the conversations of Socrates, as in the Natural Theology of Paley. Mr. Sedgwick's remarks on the study of history are full of wisdom, and we should gladly quote them did our limits allow.

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The third and largest division of the discourse is an elaborate discussion of several points in intellectual and moral philosophy. The author's remarks are almost confined to Locke's "Essay on the Conduct of the Understanding," and Paley's "Principles of Moral and Political Philosophy." He points out the defect in Locke's theory of the mind, and describes strongly the consequences which have followed from it. But he does full justice, at the same time, to the independence and masculine vigor of the great philosopher. The criticism on Paley, particularly the refutation of Paley's theory of utility, is a very able piece of philosophical argument; and here, too, he awards a full measure of praise to the transparent clearness of Paley's style, and the admirable cogency of his reasoning. The discourse closes with a fervent strain of eloquence, in which the dictates of sound philosophy and rational piety are enforced in a highly impressive manner.

We have been the more particular in considering this discourse, because it contains the best account of the studies at Cambridge we have ever seen, and the best exposition of the grounds of university education. We do not find any very original speculations, or arguments; but the whole subject is handled with masterly vigor, and all that has been thought and said before, in parts and fragments, is brought together in lucid order, and adorned with a style of commanding dignity. A large portion of the observations apply to the state of education in this country, and we hope the discourse may be republished and widely circulated among us. It would set right the minds of many people, whose notions on the subject of academic education are at present quite wrong.

The requisitions for the several degrees are, briefly, as follows. A bachelor must be a resident the greater part of twelve terms, the first and last excepted. In order to take this degree at the regular time, he must be admitted at some college before the end of the Easter term of the year in which he proposes to come into residence. The mode of admission is either by a personal examination, or by a certificate signed by some master of arts of the University. If the certificate be satisfactory, the person's name is immediately entered on the boards, which are suspended in the butteries of the several colleges. A master of arts must be a B. A. of three years' standing. A bachelor in divinity must be a M. A. of seven years' standing. A doctor in divinity must be a

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B. D. of five, or M. A. of twelve years' standing. A bachelor in civil law must be of six years' standing, complete, and must reside the greater part of nine terms. A doctor in civil law must be of five years' standing from the degree of B. C. L., or a M. A. of seven years' standing. A bachelor in physic must reside the greater part of nine several terms, and may be admitted any time in his sixth year. A doctor in physic is bound to the same regulations as a doctor of civil law. A licentiate in physic is required to be a M. A. or M. B. of two years' standing. A bachelor in music must enter his name at some college, and compose and perform a solemn piece of music before the University. A doctor in music is generally M. B., and his exercise is the same. The following persons are entitled to honorary degrees, by an interpretation of May 31st, 1786; viz. Privy counsellors, bishops, dukes, marquises, earls, viscounts, barons, sons of noblemen, persons related to the king's majesty by consanguinity or affinity, provided they be also honorable, their eldest sons, baronets, and knights. By a grace of the senate, passed March 18th, 1826, they are to be examined and approved like others, but have the privilege of being examined after having kept *nine* terms, the first and last excepted. They are then entitled to the degree of master of arts. The University also confers degrees, without residence or examination, on persons illustrious for their services to the state or to literature.

The ordinary course of study before taking the degree of B. A. is comprehended under the three heads of Natural Philosophy, Theology and Moral Philosophy, and the Belles Lettres. The undergraduates are examined in their respective colleges yearly, or half yearly, on the subjects of their studies, and arranged in classes, according to these examinations. Those who are placed in the first class receive prizes of books of different values. The students are thus prepared for the public examinations and exercises, which the University requires of all candidates for degrees. The public examinations are, the previous examination, and the examination for honors, in the senate house. All business affecting the University is here transacted. On public occasions the lower part is appropriated to the higher orders of the University, and the undergraduates occupy a spacious gallery.

During the last six weeks, preceding the senate-house examination, the students are termed questionists. The sub-

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jects of the previous examination are, one of the four Gospels, or the Acts of the Apostles, in the original Greek, Paley's Evidences of Christianity, one of the Greek, and one of the Latin classics; and every person, when examined, is required to translate some portion of each of the subjects; to construe and explain passages of the same; and to answer printed questions relating to the evidences of Christianity. The Greek and Latin examinations occupy the forenoon, and the Greek Testament and Paley's Evidences, the afternoon. Of the persons examined, two classes are formed; those who have passed their examination with credit, and those who are *only not refused* their certificate of approval by the examiners. Those who are not approved must attend the examination of the following year. Four examiners are elected at the first congregation after the 10th day of October, by the senate, for the succeeding year, and each examiner receives £20 from the university chest.

The student has next to perform the exercises required for the degree which he has in view. In the beginning of January, the proctor's servant goes to every college except King's, and receives from the tutors a list of the students called sophs, who intend to offer themselves for the degree of bachelor of arts. Their names are then delivered to the moderator. The moderator gives notice on the second Monday in Lent term, to one of the students in his list, to appear in the schools, and keep an act, on that day fortnight, in this form,

"Respondeat A. B., Coll. ———, Martii 5°, 18—.
C. D., Mod'r."

This person, called the respondent or act, soon after presents to the moderator three propositions or questions, which he is to maintain against any three students of the same year, nominated by the moderator, and called opponents. The first question is commonly taken from the *Principia*, the second from some other work in mathematics and natural philosophy, and the third, called the moral question, from Locke, Paley, or Butler. When the fortnight has expired, the respondent enters the school at one o'clock. The moderator, with one of the proctor's servants, appears at the same time, and, taking the chair, says, "Ascendat Dominus Respondens." The respondent mounts the rostrum and reads a thesis generally upon the moral question. The moderator then says, "Ascendat opponentium Primus." He immediately mounts a rostrum oppo-

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site the respondent, and opposes the thesis, in the syllogistic form. Eight arguments, each of three or four syllogisms, are offered by the first, five by the second, and three by the third opponent. The distinguished men of the year appear eight times in this manner, twice as acts, and six times as opponents.

The senate-house examination lasts seven days. The moderators form the questionists into classes, according to their performances in the schools, and the first four are publicly exhibited before examination day. The questionists enter the senate house about nine o'clock, on the Friday before the first Monday in Lent term, preceded by a master of arts, who, for this occasion, is styled the father of the college to which he belongs. The classes to be examined are called out, and proceed to their appointed tables, the first and second at one, and the third and fourth at another. The examination of the fifth and sixth classes, not candidates for honors, takes place at the same time. The examinations are mostly on written papers, which are drawn up in such a manner as to give a searching test of the attainments and talents of the persons examined. A series of these papers for one year, is given in "Alma Mater," Vol. II. pp. 63–92. The labor of the examiners is extreme. Besides attending the examination through the day, they are obliged to spend the greater part of the night in inspecting the papers, and affixing to each its degree of merit. On the morning of the last day of the examination, a new arrangement of the classes, called the brackets, is made out, according to the merits of the papers, expressed in the sum total of each man's marks. These brackets are hung on the pillars of the senate house, and a great rush immediately takes place of the junior members of the University, who are naturally eager to learn the destinies of the combatants. The examination of the last day is conducted according to the order of the brackets, and the final contest is carried on with the greatest ardor. At five o'clock the examination is completed, and the moderators retire with the papers, to decide the honors, that very night. A select number, of at least thirty, who have most distinguished themselves, are then recommended to the proctors for approbation, and classed in three divisions according to merit. These divisions are, wranglers, senior optimes, and junior optimes, and these are the three orders of honors. The first in the list is called the senior wrangler, the next, the second wrangler; the last of the

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optimes is styled, in the elegant phraseology of the Cambridge men, the "wooden spoon." All after the optimes are οἱ πολλοὶ, the first of whom is denominated, in the abovementioned dialect, the "captain of the poll," and the last twelve, the "Twelve Apostles." The next day after the conclusion of the examination, the ceremonies of the admission of the questionists takes place. A congregation is called in the senate house, and two papers, containing a list of the questionists, according to their merits or seniority, are hung up on the pillars. The senior moderator makes a Latin speech, the vice-chancellor in the chair, with the moderator on his left hand. The junior proctor delivers to the vice-chancellor a list of honors and seniority, subscribed "Examinati et approbati a nobis," meaning the proctors, moderators, and other examiners. The caput passes the supplicats of the questionists, and receives a certificate, signed and sealed by the master of the college, that each has kept his full number of terms; if not, it is mentioned in the supplicat, and a certificate, explaining the cause, is given in by the father. The vice-chancellor reads them to the caput, and they are then carried by one of the bedells to the non-regent house, to be read by the scrutators. If they are all approved, the scrutators walk, and the senior says, "*Omnes placent.*" If any are disapproved, he says, "A. B. &c. non placent; *reliqui placent.*" The supplicats are then carried into the regent house, to be read by the senior proctor. If all are approved, the proctors walk, and the senior says, "*Placent omnes? Placeat vobis ut intrent.*" They are then delivered to the registrary, who writes on them, "*Lect. et concess. die Jan.*"

The father of the senior wrangler, preceded by a bedell, and accompanied by the senior wrangler, approaches the vice-chancellor, and presents him, in ascending, a formulary in Latin; he then takes the oaths of allegiance and supremacy. The senior proctor then reads to him another oath, in Latin, respecting various matters pertaining to the interior regulations of the University. He then kneels down before the vice-chancellor, who, taking his hands between his own, admits him in these words, "Auctoritate mihi commissâ, admitto te ad respondendum questioni. In nomine Patris, et Filii, et Spiritûs Sancti, Amen." The others are then presented by the fathers of their respective colleges, and the senior proctor administers to them the same oath, which had been taken by

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the senior wrangler. When all have been sworn, they are admitted by the vice-chancellor, in the order of the list signed by the proctors and examiners, and the admissions being concluded, the congregation is dissolved.

There are similar proceedings in civil law and physic, the particulars of which must be omitted. There is also a special examination, called the East-Indian examination of candidates for writerships in the service of the company, who have not resided in the college at Haileybury. This examination includes the classics, with the collateral studies, the mathematics, modern history, and Paley's "Evidences of Christianity." It is conducted by two examiners appointed by the vice-chancellor and the regius professors, with an annual stipend of £80.

The *tripos* is a list of those who have obtained honors on commencing bachelor of arts; and there are two public days, called the first and second tripos days. On the first day, the wranglers and the senior optimes are publicly honored with appropriate ceremonies; and, on the second, the junior optimes; but the unfortunate οἱ πολλοὶ are addressed in a body by the junior moderator, "Reliqui petant senioritatem suam e registro." The ceremonies are closed in these words, "Auctoritate quâ fungimur, decernimus, creamus, et pronunciamus omnes hujus anni determinatores finaliter determinasse, *et actualiter esse, in artibus Baccalaureos.*"

Besides these honors, there are prizes awarded for excellence in the various branches of learning, scholarships of different values, and two pensions for travelling bachelors, worth £100 each, annually. These are all the objects of the most strenuous competition; but they are too numerous to be more particularly specified.

In most of the colleges the fellowships are taken, as they fall vacant, by the wranglers in the order of seniority; the greater part of the bachelors, all the οἱ πολλοὶ, and most of the junior and senior optimes having left the University to prepare themselves for the active business of life. At St. John's and Trinity College, the fellowships require a very severe examination. In Trinity College, the examination lasts two days and a half, the candidates spending about eight hours a day in hard writing. On the first morning they are occupied from nine to twelve, in translating some difficult piece of Greek and Latin into English, and some piece of idiomatic English

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into Greek iambics, or Latin heroics, Sapphics, or Alcaics, as may suit the subject. In the afternoon, from three till dark, they are occupied on a mathematical paper. The second day is devoted entirely to the classics. The exercises are translations from the Greek and Latin poets, historians, and orators, and from the English into Greek and Latin, with a paper of questions upon Roman and Grecian history. The third morning is devoted to a paper on metaphysics. Of all the papers used at this examination, the mathematical is the most important, for the number of marks given to these questions is so much greater than those given to the others, that a man may become a fellow by that paper alone. The decision upon the claims of the candidates is made on the first day of October, by the "seniority," who meet in the chapel, read the reports of the examiners, and finally settle the question by vote. The anxiety to obtain the honors and emoluments of a Trinity fellowship is so great, as frequently to impair the health and entirely break down the strength of the candidate; a successful struggle bringing, besides the honor, a handsome competence for life. The scene that passes during the deliberations of the seniority is described as one of great bustle and anxious foreboding; not only the personal friends of the candidates, but the *gyps*,* bed-makers, shoe-blacks, and scullions, taking a lively interest in the result. The latter respectable individuals, it is stated, often lay wagers of a leg of mutton, a new hat, or some other equally important stake, upon the literary success of the several candidates.

"Alma Mater" is a very curious book. It gives a lively narrative of the incidents of a student's life, during a residence of seven years at Cambridge. Mr. Wright, a gentleman well known in the literary circles of London, is understood to be its author. The various scenes of university life, from the innocent blunders of the freshman, to the last mortal struggle for the fellowships, are described in an easy and witty style. For common readers, there is too much perhaps of college slang, and too many bad puns. But still these are curious as indications of the tone and style of college society, and students' talk. Every body of men, set apart from their fellow men by peculiarity of pursuits, readily form a set of

* Another elegant term in the Cantab. dialect, meaning *servants* or *waiters*.

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terms, intelligible only to themselves and the initiated. Every profession has its slang, every college has its slang, and horse-jockeys have theirs. In point of elegance, these dialects or jargons are about upon a par. The phraseology of the Trinity men, and their abominable puns, bring up vividly our recollections of college life at home; and our only surprise is, how so large a majority of students survive these desperate doings, and turn out respectable members of society. It is astonishing how much good health is enjoyed at college, in spite of them. College frolics are pretty much the same in the mother country and here. Mr. Wright gives us some edifying scenes at chapel, which bear a strong resemblance to certain proceedings in a New England college, not half a century ago. Dissipation finds its way to the haunts of science at old Cambridge, as well as at her namesake. Students divide off into gay-men, and reading-men, corresponding to our old classes, the geniuses and digs; and on particular occasions these classes intermingle for mutual consolation and support. But though scenes of a painful and even disgusting description sometimes occur, with riotous drinking and intoxication, there is no doubt that, in proportion to the numbers, the young men in universities, both at home and abroad, are as little given to sensual indulgence, as any other class of young men whatever.

From the foregoing brief sketch, the points of difference and resemblance between an English and American university may be readily perceived. In England, a university is a perfectly-organized community, for religious and literary purposes. Its enormous wealth, and the great number of persons resorting to it, require and enable it to have a strong government, with power sufficient to enforce academical discipline, and the laws of the land. An injury to persons or property may be promptly redressed, and violated law avenged. Our colleges are similar communities in some respects, but on a much smaller scale. Their government is simply academical. They were established in the days of small things, when money was scarce, and students few. But the country has gone rapidly forward, in population, resources, and refinement. The governments of colleges remain substantially the same as they were at first. They have few means, beyond the terrors of academical discipline, to enforce obedience, while in some colleges the students number their hundreds. With such

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large bodies government ceases to be paternal, and academical discipline is not always a shield against outrages, both on persons and property. A college government may, indeed, have its remedy by appealing to the laws of the land. But it has no remedy within its immediate control, except mere college punishment, and the consequence often is, that high crimes and misdemeanors escape the notice of the law. A college becomes, like some pagan temples, to a certain extent an asylum for transgressors. In times of high excitement, and even at other times, deeds of violence are perpetrated, which would send the offender, in other walks of life, to the county jail, or the State Prison. But the young gentleman at college meets only a college punishment, in the shape of a rustication, dismission, or expulsion. There have been exceptions to this course of things; but they are merely exceptions; the rule is unquestionably the other way. We are persuaded the circumstances of the country will soon demand a more effectual organization of the government of our universities, and that young gentlemen, surrounded by all the blessings of liberal learning, will not be allowed much longer to set the laws of their country at defiance, by perpetrating outrages, which draw down upon all other persons the heaviest vengeance of society.

As we have before remarked, the basis of liberal education is the same in England and the United States. It is laid in the mathematics, the classics, and philosophy. But the methods of securing a due degree of study, on the part of the young men, are widely different. In the English universities, the student is left much more to himself, and his studies are more directed to general results than with us. He attends upon the stated instructions of the Professors of his college; but the greater part of his work is done by himself, or under the eye of his private tutor, and with reference to a distant examination. The consequence is, that his learning is profound, and integral. He has made himself, so far as his powers permit, thoroughly master of it, and can command all his resources at a moment's warning, before he ventures to enter the lists for university honors. His ambition is addressed by motives of almost irresistible strength. He is in the midst of a society, consisting of the flower of British youth, in rank, wealth, and talent. He is under the protection of an institution, venerable for its age, and illustrious for the

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mighty names that adorn its records. If he becomes a senior wrangler, that honor places him for a year at the head of English students; if he gains a fellowship, he is ranked, for life, in an illustrious body of scholars, free from the cares of the world, and at leisure to cultivate every branch of letters, in the fullest exercise of his genius. On the other hand, the inviting distinctions of church and state open in brilliant perspective. What more does he want? But the British universities are, no doubt, too scholastic in their course of study and modes of instruction. Changes, required by the spirit of the times, are not readily introduced, and some exclusive regulations, originating in an unenlightened age, still remain to disgrace the present. The requisition of a subscription to the Thirty-nine Articles, and the exclusion of Dissenters, are foolish, unjust, and absurd. They can be defended upon no principle of necessity, policy, or expediency, and the sooner they are done away with, the better.

In our universities, the honors are awarded according to daily recitations, and examinations have but a slight effect on the general results, by which the scale of rank is formed. This method secures a degree of punctuality and prompt attention to daily duties, which leads to habits of mind of the highest importance in the business of life. But it does not secure a profound knowledge of the subjects taught, or give the power of taking broad and general views in science and literature. It makes the mind adroit, rather than powerful, and fills it with fragments of the body of knowledge, rather than with the noble spirit of knowledge. Books are thought too much of, and subjects too little. The time we give to academic studies is too short, and the studies themselves are too many. If English universities are too tenacious of old methods and antiquated courses, ours are too ready to yield before the "march of mind." The fantastic experiments made by some of our colleges, in obedience to what is respectfully denominated public sentiment, remind us of the fable of the old man, his son, and ass.

A word or two more about the government of students at college, and we have done. The young man at college is a very peculiar being. Apart from the general characteristics of his age, he is subject to several influences that belong to his condition alone. He has arrived at a period, when he is neither boy nor man. His voice has lost the treble of the

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child, without deepening into the bass of manhood. His passions are beginning to sweep over him with tremendous energy. He has noble, but undisciplined, impulses. He is capable of generous attachments, and is a boisterous friend to liberty; whence there is danger, that his love of liberty will sometimes get the better of his love of order. If he has brought with him tendencies to perverseness and folly, their developement now becomes extremely active. The days have come for him, which a friend of ours once called "the agonizing days of puppyhood." His vanity puts forth with a vigorous growth. Having been all his life before completely controlled, he thinks he ought now to be exempted from all control, and, by a process of juvenile logic, he comes to regard all who are placed over him as his natural enemies. He takes offence at something done by his tutor, and he magnanimously breaks the tutor's windows at midnight. His love of liberty is so tetchy, that a new study, or an additional exercise, rouses him to rebellion, and he forthwith proceeds to combine against the constituted authorities, and proclaim the rights of man. His credulity at such times is absolutely incredible. Tell him the Faculty amuse themselves at every meeting by devouring a roasted freshman with trimmings, and he believes it. Nothing is too monstrous for his rabid capacity of faith. Reasoning with him at such times is vain. A syllogism addressed to a northeaster would be quite as cogent. In dealing with such people, the times of trouble come round pretty often; so that we have heard the wish expressed, that boys, unless of special sobriety and promise, might be put to sleep at fourteen, and not wake up till twenty-one. But as that is impossible, they must be trained up by other means. This brings us round again to the necessity of some adequate control. The subjects of college tutelage will not be regarded as boys; and they ought to be treated as men, as gentlemen. But they ought then to be subjected to all the responsibilities of men, of gentlemen. They must be made to feel that they have no immunity from the penalty of violated rights, but that the strong arm of law is over them, as over the rest of the world, and its sleepless eye upon their doings.

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ART. XI. — *Astoria, or Anecdotes of an Enterprise beyond the Rocky Mountains.* By WASHINGTON IRVING. In Two Volumes. 8vo. Philadelphia; Carey & Lea. 1836.

THE object of this work, as the name imports, is to narrate the history of the enterprise undertaken by Mr. Astor, to establish the fur trade at the mouth of the Columbia River. This enterprise, considered as a private undertaking, was equally marked with sagacity and commercial courage. In its connexion with public interests, it bid fair to be of vast political importance. Had it proceeded as prosperously as it was happily conceived, it would have laid the foundation of the settlement and colonization, under the auspices of the United States, of the mighty empire drained by the Columbia River and its tributaries. A most disastrous succession of events, both of a private and public nature, defeated the hopes and anticipations, with which the enterprise was undertaken. As a commercial adventure, it resulted in the almost total loss of the vast capital which had been embarked in it; and as a commencement of the settlement of the country, it was equally abortive. But this topic may demand more of our attention in the sequel of the article.

The ingenious avarice of civilization finds temptation everywhere; and no zone of the new-found regions of the East or the West but afforded scope for the pursuit of wealth, by the agency of the improved arts of Europe. It would not perhaps be an abuse of language, to pronounce the age, in which America was discovered and colonized, and a path opened to the East Indies, as the age of plunder; and man, we fear, might, among the other definitions, be not inaptly described as a stealing animal. The discovering nations, at the outset, appropriated to themselves the new-found regions, — continents and Archipelagoes coextensive with Europe, — and on this primitive and comprehensive robbery, they founded in detail the system of rapine, by which all the individual sources of wealth were turned into their coffers. Thus the adventurers of Europe swarmed out in pursuit of the gold and silver of Mexico, Peru, and Brazil, the spices of the Moluccas, the silks of India, and the men of Africa. The kindred blood of common humanity formed no exemption; and benevolence instituted her plunder, (the most iniquitous of all others,)

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in order to alleviate the misery caused by the plunders of avarice. Men were stolen from Africa, in the philanthropic purpose of mitigating the hardships inflicted by the gold-stealers of America on the oppressed natives of the new world!

A curious dissertation might be written on the ingenuity, which has been applied to the work of pillage, by the great nations of modern times. The various modes under which the one great end has been pursued, the instruments which have been employed, the pretences which have been pleaded, the institutions which have been gradually organized for this purpose, form a new text of international law, — a sort of anti-constitutional system of politics, a code of ethics founded on the scorn of morality, and a religious faith clothed in Christian language and breathing a spirit hot from Pandemonium. It is not in the Arabian Nights, but in the sober history of Europe, that we read of a proclamation of the Pope, giving to the Portuguese all on one side of a certain meridian, and to the Spaniards, all on the other. It is a fact equally well authenticated, that the entire native population of Cuba, an inoffensive, gentle race, amounting, it is said, to millions, were exterminated as idolaters, by a band of refined, high-spirited, and Christian conquerors. They were exterminated, because the island was of convenient dimensions to be immediately reduced to plantations, cultivated with tropical products; and the African race was found more patient of labor than the Indian. The natives of Mexico and Peru, after the sword of the conquerors had reaped the first bloody harvest of desolation, were enslaved and preserved. It was found that a degraded native caste was the most efficient instrument for the mineral enterprises of the Spanish nobility, to whom the country had been granted. So that under the auspices of one and the same power, and in the same hemisphere, we see in one quarter a native population exterminated, in another preserved; exterminated through zeal for religion; — preserved to be enslaved. The element of force is, of course, a component part of this monstrous system of politics, and this is furnished by the veteran troops of Castile. Africa, entrenched in her pestiferous marshes, — guarded from conquest by her contagious fevers and blasted deserts, invincible beneath the fevers of her vertical sun, and strong in her myriads of fierce and unsubdued barbarians, — she too is soon

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linked in with frightful ingenuity, into the all-grasping system of gainful violence. Her savage princes are stimulated to eternal wars, and America is thrown open as one great slave-market for their prisoners; and thus, without an attempt to take possession of any part of the African continent, beyond a few spots on the coast, occupied for the purposes of the traffic, this entire quarter of the globe has been subjugated by nations, that never set foot upon it, — wasted by a distant foe, — ravaged by powers that sit quietly at home, in a distant quarter of the globe, — desolated without hostile navies or armies, and made herself the eager instrument of her own ruin. But even these strange combinations of vice and misery, of crime and woe, do not exhaust the ingenuity of modern civilization. With substantially the same results, a totally different method of procedure is pursued in the East. The miner subdues some ores by roasting them in vast fires; others are pounded into dust by mighty trip-hammers; and in others a curious process of amalgamation draws out the precious metal from its native compound. So the colonizer, (if we may be pardoned so formal a comparison,) by turns lays waste with fire and sword; — with the heavy mace of oppression, crushing, but not quite destroying; — and with a subtler interference of civilized arts and power in native policy, which conquers empires, without abating an epithet from the grandiloquent titles of their native sovereigns. This last is the policy, with which Great Britain has conquered and holds Hindostan. It was a matter of curiosity to see how, in the last half of the eighteenth century, by a nation of Protestant Christians, of constitutional politicians, the metropolis of philanthropy, the citadel of liberty, the problem of subjugating a hundred and thirty millions of unoffending and unwarlike fellow beings would be solved. In the middle of the last century, the British empire in America and in India, formed a curious contrast. In America, Quebec fell in 1759, before a handful of brave men, led by an adventurous young officer, and the entire continent from the Gulf of Mexico to the North Pole, passed under the British sceptre, in consequence of a victory, in which were sowed the seeds of a revolution, destined shortly to deprive Great Britain of almost all that was valuable in her American empire. In India, in 1756, the British empire was shut up, by the barbarous subaltern of an Indian prince, in the black hole of

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Calcutta; and now, eighty years only have passed away, and from the foot of the Himala Mountains to the southernmost point of Ceylon, — from the Indus to the Irrawaddy, — a territory equal to the entire domain of the United States east of the Rocky Mountains, receives the law from the India House, in London. Talk of Alexander and Cæsar, of Napoleon and Wellington; the British East India Company, the incorporate hero, the chartered despot of modern days, outshines them all. Paragon indeed of policy, prowess, and fortune! Wonderful in itself as a political phenomenon; momentous in its probable influence on a fifth or sixth portion of the human race; — but truly astounding as the work of British power, achieved under the sanction of British laws; — as if it had been the object of her statesmen, out of her free institutions of constitutional liberty at home and her stupendous tyranny at the Antipodes, to build up the grandest political dualism the world has ever seen; — a temporal Manichæism, only less extensive and terrific, than that to which ancient philosophers subjected the moral universe.

We are not quite so far from Astoria, in these discursive suggestions, as might at first be thought. When the British colonies on the American continent were, by the peace of 1783, separated from the territory recently conquered from France, that territory, the only remaining possession of Great Britain on the continent, still constituted a mighty empire, about equal, in geographical extent, to the United States of America or the continent of Europe. This territory too has been penetrated and colonized, by a process still going on, peculiar in its character and (thanks to the climate) with less offence to the laws of humanity, than any other, with which the march of colonial empire has ever been marked. This whole mighty region, from the eastern shores of Labrador to the mouth of the Columbia River, is traversed by a chain of hunting posts. A mighty despotism exists; but it is one of peltry, — the sea otter and the beaver have been the principal victims. The human population has found safety, by entering into the alliance against their four-footed neighbours of the woods; and we understand, there are actually regions, within the chain of posts belonging to the North-west Company, where both Indians and beavers are on the increase. What will be the future character of this grand venatical empire, it is impossible to foresee. From a considerable portion of the hunted territory,

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the rigors of the climate will for ever exclude a dense civilized population. Whether the hunting stations, in many parts, will not eventually prove so many centres of communities subsisting by such agriculture, as the soil and climate admit, by the commerce of exchange and supply, required by the wants of the company's establishments, and by the mechanic arts, may be a matter of doubt. We incline to think they will, and that by degrees, the interior of the continent north of the United States will in this way become settled. The progress, however, will be slow. Better land in a more tolerable climate will for a long time give a more southerly direction to the current of adventure; and hunting posts are very far from being the establishments most disposed to invite a permanent neighbourhood. We have heard dark suggestions, that an interloping squatter is very apt at dusk to fall in with a chance rifle-bullet, travelling the same road, and with too short notice, to turn out of its way. Mr. Irving inclines to regard the fur trade as the instrument, by which this part of the continent will eventually be settled, "leading the way to remote regions of beauty and fertility, that might have remained unexplored for ages, and beckoning after them the slow and pausing steps of agriculture and civilization."

Mr. Irving observes in the Introduction to his work, that, in the course of occasional visits to Canada, many years since, he became acquainted with some of the principal partners of the great North-west Fur Company, who at that time lived in genial style at Montreal, and kept almost open house for the stranger. At their hospitable boards he occasionally met with partners, and clerks, and fur traders from the interior posts; men who had passed years remote from civilized society, among distant and savage tribes, and who had wonders to recount of their wild and wide peregrinations, their hunting exploits, and their perilous adventures and hair-breadth escapes among the Indians. "I was then," continues Mr. Irving,

"I was then at an age, when the imagination lends its coloring to every thing, and the stories of these Sinbads of the wilderness made the life of a trapper and a fur trader perfect romance to me. I even meditated at one time a visit to the remote posts of the company, in the boats which annually ascended the lakes and rivers, being thereto invited by one of the partners; and I have ever since regretted that I was prevented

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by circumstances from carrying my intention into effect. From those early impressions, the grand enterprises of the great fur companies, and the hazardous errantry of their associates in the wild parts of our vast continent, have always been themes of charmed interest to me; and I have felt anxious to get at the details of their adventurous expeditions among the savage tribes, that peopled the depths of the wilderness." — pp. 3, 4.

Thus prepared to engage with enthusiasm in the subject, Mr. Irving gladly availed himself of the opportunities, which the friendship of Mr. John Jacob Astor afforded him, to learn the history of the enterprise projected by that gentleman, for the establishment of the fur trade west of the Rocky Mountains. The journals of the persons in Mr. Astor's employment, and their correspondence with the projector of the establishment, furnished the materials of the inquiry; the publications of contemporary travellers across the American *steppes*, from Lewis and Clarke down, supplied additional illustrations; and the volumes before us are the result.

We have read them with interest and profit. The anecdotes they relate are many of them of a spirit-stirring character, as we shall presently show by some specimens. Considerable valuable information relative to the enterprise of Mr. Astor, the North American fur trade, and the Indian tribes, on both sides of the Rocky Mountains, is placed in a highly attractive form. The whole work bears the impress of Mr. Irving's taste. A great variety of somewhat discordant materials is brought into a consistent whole, of which the parts have a due reference to each other; and some sketches of life and traits of humor come fresh from the pen of Geoffrey Crayon. If it be necessary to find any fault with the work, we might object to some of the details of the overland journeys across the Rocky Mountains, as being, after the publications already given to the world, deficient in the interest of novelty, and for that reason, less entitled to the space they occupy. They are, however, as well worth reading as nine tenths of the personal narratives of travellers, even of the most respectable class; and nothing can be objected to them, but their want of claim to the honor of being recorded by Mr. Irving's classical pen. We cannot forbear remarking, that we presume it is merely by accident, that the unfinished map in the second volume has found admission into the work.

The first chapter relates the rise and progress of the fur

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trade in Canada; and a highly graphic account is given of the personages by whom it was carried on. The following is the description of one class of them, called "*Coureurs des bois.*"

"A new and anomalous class of men gradually grew out of this trade. These were called *coureurs des bois*, rangers of the woods; originally men who had accompanied the Indians in their hunting expeditions and made themselves acquainted with remote tracts and tribes; and who now became, as it were, pedlars of the wilderness. These men would set out from Montreal with canoes well stocked with goods, with arms and ammunition, and would make their way up the mazy and wandering rivers that interlace the vast forests of the Canadas, coasting the most remote lakes, and creating new wants and habitudes among the natives. Sometimes they sojourned for months among them, assimilating to their tastes and habits with the happy facility of Frenchmen; adopting in some degree the Indian dress, and not unfrequently taking to themselves Indian wives.

"Twelve, fifteen, eighteen months would often elapse without any tidings of them, when they would come sweeping their way down the Ottawa in full glee, their canoes laden down with packs of beaver skins. Now came their turn for revelry and extravagance. 'You would be amazed,' says an old writer already quoted, 'if you saw how lewd these pedlars are when they return; how they feast and game, and how prodigal they are not only in their clothes, but upon their sweethearts. Such of them as are married have the wisdom to retire to their own houses; but the bachelors act just as an East Indiaman and pirates are wont to do; for they lavish, eat, drink, and play all away as long as the goods hold out; and when these are gone, they even sell their embroidery, their lace and their clothes. This done, they are forced upon a new voyage for subsistence.'*

"Many of these *coureurs des bois* became so accustomed to the Indian mode of living, and the perfect freedom of the wilderness, that they lost all relish for civilization, and identified themselves with the savages among whom they dwelt, or could only be distinguished from them by superior licentiousness. Their conduct and example gradually corrupted the natives, and impeded the works of the Catholic missionaries, who were at this time prosecuting their pious labors in the wilds of Canada." — Vol. I. pp. 15–17.

"* La Hontan, Vol. I. Let. 4."

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The following is also a highly spirited sketch.

"To behold the North-west Company in all its state and grandeur, however, it was necessary to witness an annual gathering at the great interior place of conference established at Fort William, near what is called the Grand Portage, on Lake Superior. Here two or three of the leading partners from Montreal proceeded once a year to meet the partners from the various trading posts of the wilderness, to discuss the affairs of the company during the preceding year, and to arrange plans for the future.

"On these occasions might be seen the change since the unceremonious times of the old French traders; now the aristocratical character of the Briton shone forth magnificently, or rather the feudal spirit of the Highlander. Every partner, who had charge of an interior post, and a score of retainers at his command, felt like the chieftain of a Highland clan, and was almost as important in the eyes of his dependents as of himself. To him a visit to the grand conference at Fort William was a most important event; and he repaired there as to a meeting of parliament.

"The partners from Montreal, however, were the lords of the ascendant; coming from the midst of luxurious and ostentatious life, they quite eclipsed their compeers from the woods, whose forms and faces had been battered and hardened by hard living and hard service, and whose garments and equipments were all the worse for wear. Indeed, the partners from below considered the whole dignity of the company as represented in their persons, and conducted themselves in suitable style. They ascended the rivers in great state, like sovereigns making a progress; or rather like Highland chieftains navigating their subject lakes. They were wrapped in rich furs, their huge canoes freighted with every convenience and luxury, and manned by Canadian voyageurs, as obedient as Highland clansmen. They carried up with them cooks and bakers, together with delicacies of every kind, and abundance of choice wines for the banquets which attended this great convocation. Happy were they, too, if they could meet with some distinguished stranger, above all, some titled member of the British nobility, to accompany them on this stately occasion, and grace their high solemnities.

"Fort William, the scene of this important annual meeting, was a considerable village on the banks of Lake Superior. Here, in an immense wooden building, was the great council hall, as also the banqueting chamber, decorated with Indian arms and accoutrements, and the trophies of the fur trade. The house

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swarmed at this time with traders and voyageurs, some from Montreal, bound to the interior posts; some from the interior posts, bound to Montreal. The councils were held in great state, for every member felt as if sitting in parliament, and every retainer and dependent looked up to the assemblage with awe, as to the House of Lords. There was a vast deal of solemn deliberation, and hard Scottish reasoning, with an occasional swell of pompous declamation.

"These grave and weighty councils were alternated by huge feasts and revels, like some of the old feasts described in Highland castles. The tables in the great banqueting room groaned under the weight of game of all kinds; of venison from the woods, and fish from the lakes, with hunters' delicacies, such as buffaloes' tongues and beavers' tails, and various luxuries from Montreal, all served up by experienced cooks brought for the purpose. There was no stint of generous wine, for it was a hard-drinking period, a time of loyal toasts, and bacchanalian songs, and brimming bumpers.

"While the chiefs thus revelled in hall, and made the rafters resound with bursts of loyalty and old Scottish songs, chaunted in voices cracked and sharpened by the northern blast, their merriment was echoed and prolonged by a mongrel legion of retainers, canadian voyageurs, half-breeds, Indian hunters, and vagabond hangers-on, who feasted sumptuously without on the crumbs that fell from their table, and made the welkin ring with old French ditties, mingled with Indian yelps and yellings.

"Such was the North-west Company in its powerful and prosperous days, when it held a kind of feudal sway over a vast domain of lake and forest. We are dwelling too long, perhaps, upon these individual pictures, endeared to us by the associations of early life, when, as yet a stripling youth, we have sat at the hospitable boards of the 'mighty North-westers,' then lords of the ascendant at Montreal, and gazed with wondering and inexperienced eye at their baronial wassailing, and listened with astonished ear to their tales of hardships and adventures. It is one object of our task, however, to present scenes of the rough life of the wilderness, and we are tempted to fix these few memorials of a transient state of things fast passing into oblivion; — for the feudal state of Fort William is at an end; its council chamber is silent and deserted; its banquet hall no longer echoes to the burst of loyalty, or the 'auld world' ditty; the lords of the lakes and forests have passed away; and the hospitable magnates of Montreal — where are they?" — Vol. 1. pp. 23 – 25.

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Having sketched the history of the Canadian fur trade, Mr. Irving proceeds to the more immediate subject of his work, the enterprise of Mr. Astor, which had for its object to divert a portion of this lucrative traffic into a new channel. The following brief biographical notice of this eminent person will give pleasure to our readers, and afford them a sufficient idea of the general character of the project, of which the history is written in the present work.

"John Jacob Astor, the individual in question, was born in the honest little German village of Waldorf, near Heidelberg, on the banks of the Rhine. He was brought up in the simplicity of rural life, but, while yet a mere stripling, left his home, and launched himself amid the busy scenes of London, having had, from his very boyhood, a singular presentiment that he would ultimately arrive at great fortune.

"At the close of the American Revolution he was still in London, and scarce on the threshold of active life. An elder brother had been for some few years resident in the United States, and Mr. Astor determined to follow him, and to seek his fortunes in the rising country. Investing a small sum which he had amassed since leaving his native village, in merchandise suited to the American market, he embarked, in the month of November, 1783, in a ship bound to Baltimore, and arrived in Hampton Roads in the month of January. The winter was extremely severe, and the ship, with many others, was detained by the ice in and about Chesapeake Bay for nearly three months.

"During this period, the passengers of the various ships used occasionally to go on shore, and mingle sociably together. In this way Mr. Astor became acquainted with a countryman of his, a furrier by trade. Having had a previous impression that this might be a lucrative trade in the new world, he made many inquiries of his new acquaintance on the subject, who cheerfully gave him all the information in his power as to the quality and value of different furs, and the mode of carrying on the traffic. He subsequently accompanied him to New York, and by his advice, Mr. Astor was induced to invest the proceeds of his merchandise in furs. With these he sailed from New York to London in 1784, disposed of them advantageously, made himself further acquainted with the course of the trade, and returned the same year to New York, with a view to settle in the United States.

"He now devoted himself to the branch of commerce with which he had thus casually been made acquainted. He began his career, of course, on the narrowest scale; but he brought to

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the task a persevering industry, rigid economy, and strict integrity. To these were added an aspiring spirit that always looked upward; a genius bold, fertile, and expansive; a sagacity quick to grasp and convert every circumstance to its advantage, and a singular and never-wavering confidence of signal success.*

"As yet, trade in peltries was not organized in the United States, and could not be said to form a regular line of business. Furs and skins were casually collected by the country traders in their dealings with the Indians or the white hunters, but the main supply was derived from Canada. As Mr. Astor's means increased, he made annual visits to Montreal, where he purchased furs from the houses at that place engaged in the trade. These he shipped from Canada to London, no direct trade being allowed from that colony to any but the mother country.

"In 1794 or '5, a treaty with Great Britain removed the restrictions imposed upon the trade with the colonies, and opened a direct commercial intercourse between Canada and the United States. Mr. Astor was in London at the time, and immediately made a contract with the agents of the North-west Company for furs. He was now enabled to import them from Montreal into the United States for the home supply, and to be shipped thence to different parts of Europe, as well as to China, which has ever been the best market for the richest and finest kinds of peltry.

"The treaty in question provided, likewise, that the military posts occupied by the British within the territorial limits of the United States, should be surrendered. Accordingly, Oswego, Niagara, Detroit, Michilimackinac, and other posts on the American side of the lakes, were given up. An opening was thus made for the American merchant to a trade on the confines of Canada, and within the territories of the United States. After an interval of some years, about 1807, Mr. Astor embarked in this trade on his own account. His capital and resources had by this time greatly augmented, and he had risen from small beginnings to take his place among the first merchants and financiers of the country. His genius had ever been in advance of his circumstances, prompting him to new and wide fields of enterprise beyond the scope of ordinary merchants. With all

"* An instance of this buoyant confidence, which no doubt aided to produce the success it anticipated, we have from the lips of Mr. A. himself. While yet almost a stranger in the city, and in very narrow circumstances, he passed by where a row of houses had just been erected in Broadway, and which from the superior style of their architecture, were the talk and boast of the city. 'I 'll build, one day or other, a greater house than any of these, in this very street,' said he to himself. He has accomplished his prediction."

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his enterprise and resources, however, he soon found the power and influence of the Michilimackinac (or Mackinaw) Company too great for him, having engrossed most of the trade within the American borders.

"A plan had to be devised to enable him to enter into successful competition. He was aware of the wish of the American government, already stated, that the fur trade within its boundaries should be in the hands of American citizens, and of the ineffectual measures it had taken to accomplish that object. He now offered, if aided and protected by government, to turn the whole of that trade into American channels. He was invited to unfold his plans to government, and they were warmly approved, though the executive could give no direct aid.

"Thus countenanced, however, he obtained in 1809, a charter from the legislature of the State of New York, incorporating a company under the name of 'The American Fur Company,' with a capital of one million of dollars, with the privilege of increasing it to two millions. The capital was furnished by himself,—he, in fact, constituted the company; for, though he had a board of directors, they were merely nominal; the whole business was conducted on his plans, and with his resources; but he preferred to do so under the imposing and formidable aspect of a corporation, rather than in his individual name, and his policy was sagacious and effective.

"As the Mackinaw Company still continued its rivalry, and as the fur trade would not advantageously admit of competition, he made a new arrangement in 1811, by which, in conjunction with certain partners of the North-west Company, and other persons engaged in the fur trade, he bought out the Mackinaw Company, and merged that and the American Fur Company into a new association, to be called 'The South-west Company.' This he likewise did with the privity and approbation of the American government.

"By this arrangement Mr. Astor became proprietor of one half of the Indian establishments and goods which the Mackinaw Company had within the territory of the Indian country in the United States, and it was understood that the whole was to be surrendered into his hands at the expiration of five years, on condition that the American company would not trade within the British dominions.

"Unluckily the war which broke out in 1812 between Great Britain and the United States suspended the association, and after the war, it was entirely dissolved; Congress having passed a law prohibiting British fur traders from prosecuting their enterprises within the territories of the United States."—Vol. I. pp. 27–31.

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In carrying his project into effect, Mr. Astor proposed to send a vessel round Cape Horn, with two of the partners of his enterprise, and a portion of the clerks and *employés*. They were to establish a post at the mouth of the river and commence their operations, while another party should proceed, by an overland route, following substantially the course of Lewis and Clarke. The adventures of this party fill a considerable portion of the work, and it is partly to them, that a remark which we have above hazarded applies. We would also observe, (being wise after the event,) that we do not perceive the motives of expediency in which this portion of the enterprise was planned. The fate which befell it was such, it seems to us, as might, with reasonable certainty, have been foreseen. Two things were to be done; to found an establishment at the mouth of the Columbia River, and to connect that establishment with a system of hunting posts in the interior. But it was not, as far as we comprehend, intended to establish a chain of stations from the Pacific to St. Louis. The furs were to be taken up by Mr. Astor's vessels at the mouth of the river, and carried to a market. Nor, if the project had embraced a chain of posts across the country, does it appear to us that Mr. Hunt's journey, with a party of hunters, contributed in any degree to effect that object. It would seem as if it would have been safer and simpler, with the ample means at the disposal of the founder of the enterprise, to send the whole of the adventurers round Cape Horn, and let them work their way gradually eastward, from the mouth of the river.

The first step taken by Mr. Astor was to despatch the Tonquin by sea. A very amusing account of the voyage is given by Mr. Irving. The heterogeneous composition of the ship's company, and the rather unaccommodating temper of its commander, Jonathan Thorn, caused it to be a succession of vexations and troubles, somewhat ominous of the fate of the enterprise. On the 8th of September, 1810, the vessel put to sea, and on the 11th of February following, came in sight of Owyhee. An interesting account is given of the Sandwich Islands, of king Tamaahmaah, of his favorite Governor John Young, and of Captain Thorn's vexations and worryings, in consequence of the erratic dispositions of his company. At length, however, he got them safely to sea on the 28th of February, and on the 22d of March, made the

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mouth of the Columbia River. The entrance of this river is, at certain periods, exceedingly difficult, in consequence of the bars and sand-banks, with which the passage is obstructed, and a heavy surf which rolls in from sea. Here the disasters of the Tonquin commenced. Her first mate, with an experienced seaman and three Canadian voyageurs, were sent by the captain, (against the presentiments of the mate, whose father had perished some years before on this coast,) to sound the passage into the river. No tidings were ever heard of the crazy whale boat, in which he was despatched upon this dangerous service, nor of her ill-fated crew. The next day another boat with the armorer and four other persons, two of whom were Sandwich islanders, taken on board at Owyhee, was sent on a similar errand. This boat perished in the furious surf, and the armorer and one of the Sandwich Islanders alone escaped. A deep gloom, of course, was cast over the very commencement of the enterprise, by the loss of eight men at the outset. The brief account of the humble ceremonial, at the burial of the Sandwich islander, is truly pathetic.

"Towards night the Sandwich islanders went on shore, to bury the body of their unfortunate countryman who had perished in the boat. On arriving at the place where it had been left, they dug a grave in the sand, in which they deposited the corpse, with a biscuit under one of the arms, some lard under the chin, and a small quantity of tobacco, as provisions for its journey in the land of spirits. Having covered the body with sand and flints, they kneeled along the grave in a double row, with their faces turned to the east, while one who officiated as a priest sprinkled them with water from a hat. In so doing he recited a kind of prayer or invocation, at which, at intervals, the others made responses. Such were the simple rites performed by these poor savages at the grave of their comrade on the shores of a strange land; and, when these were done, they rose and returned in silence to the ship, without once casting a look behind." —Vol. i. pp. 87, 88.

A beginning was made of a post near the mouth of the river, and the name *Astoria* given to the establishment. Friendly relations were formed without difficulty with the Chinooks, the tribe of Indians occupying this part of the territory. Their one-eyed chief, Concomly, proved, from the first, a good friend to the new comers, and in the course of

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time this amicable understanding was cemented by a marriage, as Mr. Irving calls it, between his daughter and Mr. McDougal, one of the partners in the concern, who had come out in the Tonquin. Parties were sent into the interior to explore the country; a post was established on one of the tributaries of the Columbia, at some distance from its mouth, and progress made in carrying into effect the purposes for which the enterprise was undertaken. On all these matters Mr. Irving's book contains interesting details.

After a short time passed at the river, the Tonquin sailed for the ulterior objects of her voyage along the coast. She had twenty-three men on board, when she left the river, on the 5th of June; and in one of the outer bays, she picked up, from a fishing canoe, an Indian named Lamazee, who had already made two voyages along the coast, and knew something of the languages of the various tribes. He agreed to accompany them as an interpreter. Steering to the north, Captain Thorn arrived in a few days at Vancouver's Island, and anchored in the harbour of Neweetee, very much against the advice of the Indian interpreter, who warned him against the perfidious character of the natives of this part of the coast. Captain Thorn, irritated by the shrewdness and pertinacity which the natives manifested in their traffic, (in what school they learned those qualities, it is not necessary to state), seized an otter-skin from the hands of a cunning old chief, who was higgling about its price, rubbed it in his face, and kicked him over the ship's side. A son of Wicananish, the chief of all the neighbouring tribes, was present, when the trade was thus ceremoniously broken up, and with the other natives on board followed the insulted chief to the shore, breathing vengeance.

After this occurrence the interpreter and others of the ship's company begged Captain Thorn to stand out to sea, by way of placing himself in safety from any attempt at savage vengeance. He derided their fears, and pointed to his cannon and muskets as a sufficient defence against a horde of naked savages. Further remonstrances only produced taunting replies from Captain Thorn. The day passed without any signs of hostility, and the captain retired to his cabin at night, without taking any unusual precautions. The residue of the tragical story must be told by Mr. Irving.

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"On the following morning, at day break, while the captain and Mr. M'Kay were yet asleep, a canoe came alongside in which were twenty Indians commanded by young Shewish. They were unarmed, their aspect and demeanour friendly, and they held up otter skins, and made signs indicative of a wish to trade. The caution enjoined by Mr. Astor, in respect to the admission of Indians on board of the ship, had been neglected for some time past; and the officer of the watch, perceiving those in the canoe to be without weapons, and having received no orders to the contrary, readily permitted them to mount the deck. Another canoe soon succeeded, the crew of which was likewise admitted. In a little while other canoes came off, and Indians were soon clambering into the vessel on all sides.

"The officer of the watch now felt alarmed, and called to Captain Thorn and Mr. M'Kay. By the time they came on deck, it was thronged with Indians. The interpreter noticed to Mr. M'Kay that many of the natives wore short mantles of skins, and intimated a suspicion that they were secretly armed. Mr. M'Kay urged the captain to clear the ship and get under way. He again made light of the advice; but the augmented swarm of canoes about the ship, and the numbers still putting off from shore, at length awakened his distrust, and he ordered some of the crew to weigh anchor, while some were sent aloft to make sail.

"The Indians now offered to trade with the captain on his own terms, prompted, apparently, by the approaching departure of the ship. Accordingly a hurried trade was commenced. The main articles sought by the savages in barter, were knives; as fast as some were supplied they moved off, and others succeeded. By degrees they were thus distributed about the deck, and all with weapons.

"The anchor was now nearly up, the sails were loose, and the captain in a loud and peremptory tone, ordered the ship to be cleared. In an instant a signal yell was given: it was echoed on every side, knives and war-clubs were brandished in every direction, and the savages rushed upon their marked victims.

"The first that fell was Mr. Lewis, the ship's clerk. He was leaning, with folded arms, over a bale of blankets, engaged in bargaining, when he received a deadly stab in the back, and fell down the companionway.

"Mr. M'Kay, who was seated on the taffrail, sprang on his feet, but was instantly knocked down with a war-club and flung backwards into the sea, where he was despatched by the women in the canoes.

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"In the mean time Captain Thorn made desperate fight against fearful odds. He was a powerful as well as resolute man, but he had come upon deck without weapons. Shewish, the young chief, singled him out as his peculiar prey, and rushed upon him at the first outbreak. The captain had barely time to draw a claspknife, with one blow of which he laid the young savage dead at his feet. Several of the stoutest followers of Shewish now set upon him. He defended himself vigorously, dealing crippling blows to the right and left, and strewing the quarterdeck with the slain and wounded. His object was, to fight his way to the cabin, where there were fire-arms; but he was hemmed in with foes, covered with wounds, and faint with loss of blood. For an instant he leaned upon the tiller wheel, when a blow from behind, with a war-club, felled him to the deck, where he was despatched with knives and thrown overboard.

"While this was transacting upon the quarterdeck, a chance medley fight was going on throughout the ship. The crew fought desperately with knives, handspikes, and whatever weapon they could seize upon in the moment of surprise. They were soon, however, overpowered by numbers, and mercilessly butchered.

"As to the seven who had been sent aloft to make sail, they contemplated with horror the carnage that was going on below. Being destitute of weapons, they let themselves down by the running rigging, in hopes of getting between decks. One fell in the attempt, and was instantly despatched; another received a death blow in the back as he was descending; a third, Stephen Weekes, the armorer, was mortally wounded as he was getting down the hatchway.

"The remaining four made good their retreat into the cabin, where they found Mr. Lewis, still alive, though mortally wounded. Barricading the cabin door, they broke holes through the companionway, and, with the muskets and ammunition which were at hand, opened a brisk fire that soon cleared the deck.

"Thus far the Indian interpreter, from whom these particulars are derived, had been an eyewitness of the deadly conflict. He had taken no part in it, and had been spared by the natives as being of their race. In the confusion of the moment he took refuge with the rest, in the canoes. The survivors of the crew now sallied forth, and discharged some of the deck guns, which did great execution among the canoes, and drove all the savages to shore.

"For the remainder of the day no one ventured to put off to the ship, deterred by the effects of the fire-arms. The night passed away without any further attempt on the part of the

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natives. When the day dawned, the Tonquin still lay at anchor in the bay, her sails all loose and flapping in the wind, and no one apparently on board of her. After a time, some of the canoes ventured forth to reconnoitre, taking with them the interpreter. They paddled about her, keeping cautiously at a distance, but growing more and more emboldened at seeing her quiet and lifeless. One man at length made his appearance on the deck, and was recognised by the interpreter as Mr. Lewis. He made friendly signs, and invited them on board. It was long before they ventured to comply. Those who mounted the deck met with no opposition; no one was to be seen on board; for Mr. Lewis, after inviting them, had disappeared. Other canoes now pressed forward to board the prize; the decks were soon crowded, and the sides covered with clambering savages, all intent on plunder. In the midst of their eagerness and exultation, the ship blew up with a tremendous explosion. Arms, legs, and mutilated bodies were blown into the air, and dreadful havoc was made in the surrounding canoes. The interpreter was in the main chains at the time of the explosion, and was thrown unhurt into the water, where he succeeded in getting into one of the canoes. According to his statement, the bay presented an awful spectacle after the catastrophe. The ship had disappeared, but the bay was covered with fragments of the wreck, with shattered canoes, and Indians swimming for their lives, or struggling in the agonies of death; while those who had escaped the danger remained aghast and stupefied, or made with frantic panic for the shore. Upwards of a hundred savages were destroyed by the explosion, many more were shockingly mutilated, and for days afterwards the limbs and bodies of the slain were thrown upon the beach.

"The inhabitants of Neweetee were overwhelmed with consternation at this astounding calamity, which had burst upon them in the very moment of triumph. The warriors sat mute and mournful, while the women filled the air with loud lamentations. Their weeping and wailing, however, was suddenly changed into yells of fury at the sight of four unfortunate white men, brought captive into the village. They had been driven on shore in one of the ship's boats, and taken at some distance along the coast.

"The interpreter was permitted to converse with them. They proved to be the four brave fellows who had made such desperate defence from the cabin. The interpreter gathered from them some of the particulars already related. They told him further, that, after they had beaten off the enemy, and cleared

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the ship, Lewis advised that they should slip the cable and endeavour to get to sea. They declined to take his advice, alleging that the wind set too strongly into the bay, and would drive them on shore. They resolved, as soon as it was dark, to put off quietly in the ship's boat, which they would be able to do unperceived, and to coast along back to Astoria. They put their resolution into effect; but Lewis refused to accompany them, being disabled by his wound, hopeless of escape, and determined on a terrible revenge. On the voyage out, he had repeatedly expressed a presentiment that he should die by his own hands; thinking it highly probable that he should be engaged in some contest with the natives, and being resolved, in case of extremity, to commit suicide, rather than be made a prisoner. He now declared his intention to remain on board of the ship until daylight, to decoy as many of the savages on board as possible, then to set fire to the powder magazine, and terminate his life by a signal act of vengeance. How well he succeeded has been shown. His companions bade him a melancholy adieu, and set off on their precarious expedition. They strove with might and main to get out of the bay, but found it impossible to weather a point of land, and were at length compelled to take shelter in a small cove, where they hoped to remain concealed until the wind should be more favorable. Exhausted by fatigue and watching, they fell into a sound sleep, and in that state were surprised by the savages. Better had it been for those unfortunate men had they remained with Lewis, and shared his heroic death: as it was, they perished in a more painful and protracted manner, being sacrificed by the natives to the *manes* of their friends with all the lingering tortures of savage cruelty. Some time after their death, the interpreter, who had remained a kind of prisoner at large, effected his escape, and brought the tragical tidings to Astoria." —Vol. I. pp. 117 – 122.

The loss of the Tonquin was a grievous blow to the infant establishment of Astoria, and one that threatened to bring after it a train of disasters. It took place, in consequence of the violation, by the commander, of Mr. Astor's positive instructions to him at parting, by no means to confide in the apparent friendship of the savages, "nor to admit more than a few on board his ship at one time." The intelligence of the loss of the vessel was not received in New York, till many months afterwards. Mr. Astor felt it in all its force, and was aware that it must cripple, if not entirely defeat the great object of

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his ambition. In his letters written at the time, says Mr. Irving, he speaks of it as "a calamity, the length of which he could not foresee." He indulged, however, in no weak and vain lamentation, but sought to devise a prompt and efficient remedy. The very same evening, he appeared at the theatre with his usual serenity of countenance. A friend, who knew the disastrous intelligence he had received, expressed his astonishment, that he could have calmness of spirit sufficient for such a scene of light amusement. "What would you have me do?" said he. "Would you have me stay at home, and weep for what I cannot help?"

Mr. Irving's narrative of the proceedings at Astoria conducts the reader to the commencement of the year 1812. At this point he leaves the adventurers on the coast, to give an account of the overland expedition, which proceeded from St. Louis across the Rocky Mountains. The public were already in possession of some information relative to this expedition, derived from the travels of Mr. Bradbury, an English naturalist, who, together with Mr. Nuttall, was for some time attached to the party. It was led by Mr. Wilson P. Hunt, of New Jersey, to whom the chief direction of the establishment, at the mouth of the Columbia River, was confided by Mr. Astor. The narrative of the march of this party, of their perils among the Sioux, and other warlike Indians, and of their extreme sufferings in the Rocky Mountains, forms a highly interesting tale, but one which we have not space to follow, at length. We have room only for a few brief extracts. The first shall be the *finale* of an individual, whose adventurous name will live for ever in the annals of border civilization, the illustrious DANIEL BOON.

"On the afternoon of the third day, January 17th, the boats touched at Charette, one of the old villages founded by the original French colonists. Here they met with Daniel Boon, the renowned patriarch of Kentucky, who had kept in the advance of civilization, and on the borders of the wilderness, still leading a hunter's life, though now in his eighty-fifth year. He had but recently returned from a hunting and trapping expedition, and had brought nearly sixty beaver skins as trophies of his skill. The old man was still erect in form, strong in limb, and unflinching in spirit; and as he stood on the river bank, watching the departure of an expedition destined to traverse the wilderness to the very shores of the Pacific, very

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probably felt a throb of his old pioneer spirit, impelling him to shoulder his rifle and join the adventurous band. Boon flourished several years after this meeting, in a vigorous old age, the Nestor of hunters and backwoodmen; and died, full of sylvan honor and renown, in 1818, in his ninety-second year." — Vol. I. p. 154.

The prodigious numbers of wild pigeons, which perform their annual migrations over the American continent, has often been the subject of marvellous and almost incredible narrative, on the part of naturalists. The following curious account of the manner in which each portion of one of these immense flocks secures to itself a reasonable share of the spoils, is given on the authority of Mr. Bradbury.

"The pigeons too were filling the woods in vast migratory flocks. It is almost incredible to describe the prodigious flights of these birds in the western wildernesses. They appear absolutely in clouds, and move with astonishing velocity, their wings making a whistling sound as they fly. The rapid evolutions of these flocks, wheeling and shifting suddenly as if with one mind and one impulse; the flashing changes of color they present, as their backs, their breasts, or the under part of their wings are turned to the spectator, are singularly pleasing. When they alight, if on the ground, they cover whole acres at a time; if upon trees, the branches often break beneath their weight. If suddenly startled while feeding in the midst of a forest, the noise they make in getting on the wing is like the roar of a cataract or the sound of distant thunder.

"A flight of this kind, like an Egyptian flight of locusts, devours every thing that serves for its food as it passes along. So great were the numbers in the vicinity of the camp, that Mr. Bradbury, in the course of a morning's excursion, shot nearly three hundred with a fowling-piece. He gives a curious, though apparently a faithful account of the kind of discipline observed in these immense flocks, so that each may have a chance of picking up food. As the front ranks must meet with the greatest abundance, and the rear ranks must have scanty pickings, the instant a rank finds itself the hindmost, it rises in the air, flies over the whole flock, and takes its place in the advance. The next rank follows in its course, and thus the last is continually becoming first, and all by turns have a front place at the banquet." — Vol. I. pp. 163 - 164.

The same chapter contains an animated account of Blackbird, a famous chief of the Omahas, whose superior talent

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had given him a great ascendancy in his tribe; to which was added the awful dread inspired by a supposed miraculous power of destroying his enemies. The secret of this power consisted in the possession of a quantity of arsenic, furnished him by some unprincipled trader, with a knowledge of its destructive properties. From this time he seemed to be endowed with supernatural powers, to possess the gift of prophecy, and to hold the disposal of life and death in his hand. Woe to any one who questioned his authority, or dared to dispute his commands! The Blackbird prophesied his death within a certain time, and he had the secret means of verifying his prophecy. Within the fatal period, the offender was smitten with strange and sudden disease, and perished from the face of the earth. Every one stood aghast at these multiplied examples of his superhuman might, and dreaded to displease so powerful and vindictive a being; and thus the Blackbird enjoyed a wide and undisputed sway. But a great "medicine" was at hand, against which the secret talisman of Blackbird afforded no protection, and to which, in common with the humblest of his awe-struck subjects, he fell a victim himself.

"He still retained his fatal and mysterious secret, and with it his terrific power; but, though able to deal death to his enemies, he could not avert it from himself or his friends. In 1802, the smallpox, that dreadful pestilence, which swept over the land like a fire over the prairies, made its appearance in the village of the Omahas. The poor savages saw with dismay the ravages of a malady, loathsome and agonizing in its details, and which set the skill and experience of their conjurers and medicine-men at defiance. In a little while, two thirds of the population were swept from the face of the earth, and the doom of the rest seemed sealed. The stoicism of the warriors was at an end; they became wild and desperate; some set fire to the village as a last means of checking the pestilence; others, in a frensy of despair, put their wives and children to death, that they might be spared the agonies of an inevitable disease, and that they might all go to some better country.

"When the general horror and dismay was at its height, the Blackbird himself was struck down with the malady. The poor savages, when they saw their chief in danger, forgot their own miseries, and surrounded his dying bed. His dominant spirit, and his love for the white men, were evinced in his latest breath, with which he designated his place of sepulture. It

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was to be on a hill or promontory, upwards of four hundred feet in height, overlooking a great extent of the Missouri, from whence he had been accustomed to watch for the barks of the white men. The Missouri washes the base of the promontory, and after winding and doubling in many links and mazes in the plains below, returns to within nine hundred yards of its starting place; so that for thirty miles navigating with sail and oar, the voyager finds himself continually near to this singular promontory as if spell-bound.

"It was the dying command of the Blackbird that his tomb should be upon the summit of this hill, in which he should be interred, seated on his favorite horse, that he might overlook his ancient domain, and behold the barks of the white men as they came up the river to trade with his people.

"His dying orders were faithfully obeyed. His corpse was placed astride of his war-steed, and a mound raised over them on the summit of the hill. On top of the mound was erected a staff, from which fluttered the banner of the chieftain, and the scalps that he had taken in battle. When the expedition under Mr. Hunt visited that part of the country, the staff still remained with the fragments of the banner; and the superstitious rite of placing food from time to time on the mound, for the use of the deceased, was still observed by the Omahas. That rite has since fallen into disuse, for the tribe itself is almost extinct. Yet the hill of the Blackbird continues an object of veneration to the wandering savage, and a landmark to the voyager of the Missouri; and as the civilized traveller comes within sight of its spell-bound crest, the mound is pointed out to him from afar, which still encloses the grim skeletons of the Indian warrior and his horse." — Vol. i. pp. 174 – 176.

We are obliged to pass wholly over the adventures of the party, till they had reached the height of land which separates the waters that flow east and west respectively. At length they reached a desolate and broken region destitute of game, affording no natural indications of a practicable route, and impervious to horses. They were therefore obliged to abandon those animals, with which they had furnished themselves at great expense, among the Indians on the eastern side of the mountains, and, as a necessary consequence, to leave behind them every thing not absolutely necessary for their subsistence on the way. The following account of the mode in which articles are deposited for safe keeping under similar circumstances, may amuse the reader.

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"Mr. Hunt now set to work with all diligence to prepare *caches*, in which to deposit the baggage and merchandise, of which it would be necessary to disburden themselves, preparatory to their weary march by land; and here we shall give a brief description of those contrivances, so noted in the wilderness.

"A cache is a term common among traders and hunters, to designate a hiding-place for provisions and effects. It is derived from the French word *cacher*, 'to conceal,' and originated among the early colonists of Canada and Louisiana; but the secret depository which it designates was in use among the aboriginals long before the intrusion of the white men. It is, in fact, the only mode that migratory hordes have of preserving their valuables from robbery, during their long absences from their villages or accustomed haunts, on hunting expeditions, or during the vicissitudes of war. The utmost skill and caution are required to render these places of concealment invisible to the lynx eye of an Indian. The first care is to seek out a proper situation, which is generally some dry low bank of clay, on the margin of a water-course. As soon as the precise spot is pitched upon, blankets, saddle-cloths, and other coverings are spread over the surrounding grass and bushes, to prevent foot-tracks, or any other derangement; and as few hands as possible are employed. A circle of about two feet in diameter is then nicely cut in the sod, which is carefully removed, with the loose soil immediately beneath it, and laid aside in a place where it will be safe from any thing that may change its appearance. The uncovered area is then digged perpendicularly to the depth of about three feet, and is then gradually widened so as to form a conical chamber six or seven feet deep. The whole of the earth displaced by this process, being of a different color from that on the surface, is handed up in a vessel, and heaped into a skin or cloth, in which it is conveyed to the stream and thrown into the midst of the current, that it may be entirely carried off. Should the cache not be formed in the vicinity of a stream, the earth thus thrown up is carried to a distance, and scattered in such manner as not to leave the minutest trace. The cave being formed, is well lined with dry grass, bark, sticks, and poles, and occasionally a dried hide. The property intended to be hidden is then laid in, after having been well aired: a hide is spread over it, and dried grass, brush, and stones, thrown in, and trampled down until the pit is filled to the neck. The loose soil, which had been put aside, is then brought, and rammed down firmly, to prevent its caving in, and is frequently sprinkled with water, to destroy the scent, lest the wolves and bears should be

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attracted to the place, and root up the concealed treasure. When the neck of the cache is nearly level with the surrounding surface, the sod is again fitted in with the utmost exactness, and any bushes, stocks, or stones, that may have originally been about the spot, are restored to their former places. The blankets and other coverings are then removed from the surrounding herbage: all tracks are obliterated: the grass is gently raised by the hand to its natural position, and the minutest chip or straw is scrupulously gleaned up and thrown into the stream. After all is done, the place is abandoned for the night, and, if all be right next morning, is not visited again, until there be a necessity for re-opening the cache. Four men are sufficient in this way to conceal the amount of three tons' weight of provisions or merchandise, in the course of two days. Nine caches were required to contain the goods and baggage which Mr. Hunt found it necessary to leave at this place." — Vol. II. pp. 28 – 30.

When one contemplates the various scenes of hardship, to which men subject themselves not merely in pursuit of a subsistence, but from pure love of adventure and distaste for settled life, we should be almost led to the conclusion, against every thing but inspired authority to the contrary, that a part at least of the human race must have been Rousseau's forest-born wild men, to whom the mountain and the thicket are by nature more congenial than the crowded abodes of civilization.

There were some persons in Mr. Hunt's party, who joined it, as the boys say, for the fun of it; — after experience already had of the hardships incident to an excursion across the mountains, and the privations of the trapper's life. What but an innate propensity to the desert could induce such men voluntarily to encounter the sufferings of an expedition, of which the following is far from being one of the most deplorable scenes? —

"Forward then did he proceed on his tedious journey, which, at every step, grew more painful. The road continued for two days, through narrow defiles, where they were repeatedly obliged to unload the horses. Sometimes the river passed through such rocky chasms and under such steep precipices, that they had to leave it, and make their way, with excessive labor, over immense hills, almost impassable for horses. On some of these hills were a few pine trees, and their summits were covered with snow. On the second day of this scramble, one of the hunters killed a black-tailed deer, which afforded the half-starved travellers a

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sumptuous repast. Their progress these two days was twenty-eight miles, a little to the northward of east.

"The month of December set in drearily, with rain in the valleys, and snow upon the hills. They had to climb a mountain with snow to the midleg, which increased their painful toil. A small beaver supplied them with a scanty meal, which they eked out with frozen blackberries, haws, and choke-cherries, which they found in the course of their scramble. Their journey this day, though excessively fatiguing, was but thirteen miles; and all the next day they had to remain encamped, not being able to see half a mile ahead, on account of a snow-storm. Having nothing else to eat, they were compelled to kill another of their horses. The next day they resumed their march in snow and rain, but with all their efforts could only get forward nine miles, having for a part of the distance to unload the horses and carry the packs themselves. On the succeeding morning, they were obliged to leave the river, and scramble up the hills. From the summit of these, they got a wide view of the surrounding country, and it was a prospect almost sufficient to make them despair. In every direction they beheld snowy mountains, partially sprinkled with pines and other evergreens, and spreading a desert and toilsome world around them. The wind howled over the bleak and wintry landscape, and seemed to penetrate to the marrow of their bones. They waded on through the snow, which at every step was more than knee deep.

"After toiling in this way all day, they had the mortification to find that they were but four miles distant from the encampment of the preceding night, such was the meandering of the river among these dismal hills. Pinched with famine, exhausted with fatigue, with evening approaching, and a wintry wild still lengthening as they advanced; they began to look forward with sad forebodings to the night's exposure upon this frightful waste. Fortunately they succeeded in reaching a cluster of pines about sunset. Their axes were immediately at work; they cut down trees, piled them up in great heaps, and soon had huge fires 'to cheer their cold and hungry hearts.'

"About three o'clock in the morning it again began to snow, and at daybreak they found themselves, as it were, in a cloud; scarcely being able to distinguish objects at the distance of a hundred yards. Guiding themselves by the sound of running water, they set out for the river, and by slipping and sliding contrived to get down to its bank. One of the horses, missing his footing, rolled down several hundred yards with his load, but sustained no injury. The weather in the valley was less rigorous than on the hills. The snow lay but ankle deep, and there was a quiet rain

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now falling. After creeping along for six miles, they encamped on the border of the river. Being utterly destitute of provisions, they were again compelled to kill one of their horses to appease their famishing hunger." — Vol. II. pp. 41 – 43.

The following is still more distressing, and may serve as a *pendant* by land to the terrific picture of the loss of the Tonquin by sea; —

"In a little while, it was found that Mr. Crooks and Le Clerc were so feeble as to walk with difficulty, so that Mr. Hunt was obliged to retard his pace, that they might keep up with him. His men grew impatient at the delay. They murmured that they had a long and desolate region to traverse, before they could arrive at the point where they might expect to find horses; that it was impossible for Crooks and Le Clerc, in their feeble condition, to get over it; that to remain with them would only be to starve in their company. They importuned Mr. Hunt, therefore, to leave these unfortunate men to their fate, and think only of the safety of himself and his party. Finding him not to be moved, either by entreaties or their clamors, they began to proceed without him, singly and in parties. Among those who thus went off was Pierre Dorion, the interpreter. Pierre owned the only remaining horse, which was now a mere skeleton. Mr. Hunt had suggested, in their present extremity, that it should be killed for food; to which the half-breed flatly refused his assent, and cudgelling the miserable animal forward, pushed on sullenly, with the air of a man doggedly determined to quarrel for his right. In this way Mr. Hunt saw his men, one after another, break away, until but five remained to bear him company.

"On the following morning, another raft was made, on which Mr. Crooks and Le Clerc again attempted to ferry themselves across the river, but after repeated trials, had to give up in despair. This caused additional delay: after which, they continued to crawl forward at a snail's pace. Some of the men who had remained with Mr. Hunt now became impatient of these encumbrances, and urged him, clamorously, to push forward, crying out that they should all starve. The night which succeeded was intensely cold, so that one of the men was severely frost-bitten. In the course of the night, Mr. Crooks was taken ill, and in the morning was still more incompetent to travel. Their situation was now desperate, for their stock of provisions was reduced to three beaver skins. Mr. Hunt, therefore, resolved to push on, overtake his people, and insist upon having the horse of Pierre Dorion sacrificed for the relief of all hands. Accordingly, he left two of his men to help Crooks and Le Clerc

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on their way, giving them two of the beaver skins for their support; the remaining skin he retained, as provision for himself and the three other men who struck forward with him." — Vol. II. pp. 47–49.

Even this is not the worst that was encountered; but we forbear to dwell on the painful detail. Mr. Hunt at length arrived with the wreck of his party at the falls of the Columbia River, on the 28th of January, 1812, and in a short time afterwards reached Astoria in safety.

The two or three subsequent chapters of the book contain many instructive notices and sketches of the Indian tribes. The following anecdote shows that we have something to learn of the savages at the mouth of the Columbia River; —

"In one thing, however, they showed superior judgment and self-command, to most of their race; this was, in their abstinence from ardent spirits, and the abhorrence and disgust with which they regarded a drunkard. On one occasion, a son of Comcomly had been induced to drink freely at the factory, and went home in a state of intoxication, playing all kinds of mad pranks, until he sank into a stupor, in which he remained for two days. The old chieftain repaired to his friend, McDougal, with indignation flaming from his countenance, and bitterly reproached him for having permitted his son to degrade himself into a beast, and to render himself an object of scorn and laughter to his slave." — Vol. II. p. 92.

It was a part of Mr. Astor's plan to furnish the Russian fur establishment on the northwest coast with regular supplies, so as to render it independent of the casual vessels, which cut up the trade and supplied the natives with fire-arms. This part of Mr. Astor's plan, like the rest, had been countenanced by our own government, and likewise by Count Pahlen, the Russian minister at Washington. A person was also sent to St. Petersburgh to make an arrangement there to carry into effect this branch of the undertaking. In the month of October, 1811, the ship Beaver, a fine vessel of four hundred and ninety tons, was despatched on this errand. She arrived in due season at the Sandwich Islands, and there received the first uncertain rumor of the fate of the Tonquin. This rumor left her company in a state of painful uncertainty, whether there was a factory in existence at the mouth of the Columbia. The apprehensions felt on this account were not wholly

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removed till she reached her destination, on the 9th of May, 1812. The arrival of the Beaver infused new life and vigor into the operations of the establishment, and preparations were made for founding several interior trading posts. It was also proposed to send a party across the mountains, to convey to Mr. Astor intelligence of the state of things. This perilous duty was cheerfully undertaken by Mr. Robert Stuart, who, though a very young man and without experience in crossing the mountains, had given proofs of his competency for the task; and, nothing dismayed by the sufferings of Mr. Hunt's party, boldly addressed himself to the enterprise, in company with four trusty and well-tried men, one of whom, shortly after starting, became insane and was sent back. This party, with less hardship and privation than Mr. Hunt's, but with a full share of the trials of the wilderness, accomplished their journey successfully. They wintered on the upper waters of the La Platte, and arrived safely at St. Louis the following spring, after ten months spent in the journey. The "greatest luxury they met with on their return to the abodes of civilized man" — hear it, dyspeptics, who are daily tantalized by the sight of the loaded board smoking with viands ye dare not put to your lips;— hear it, *gourmands* and *gastronomes*, whose imaginations toil in vain for the invention of a new dish, capable of stimulating a sated appetite,— the greatest luxury which these adventurers found in the abodes of civilization, on their return from the desert, — "was BREAD, not having tasted any for nearly a year."

In the summer of 1812, the war with Great Britain commenced, an event ominous of disasters to the establishment at the mouth of the Columbia, from which as yet Mr. Astor had received no intelligence. In this state of things, he wrote a letter to Captain Sowle, commander of the Beaver, addressed to him at Canton, and directing him to proceed to the factory, with such articles as the establishment might need, and to remain there subject to the orders of Mr. Hunt. Another vessel also, the Lark, remarkable as a swift sailer, was sent from New York to the relief of the establishment. In the month of February, 1813, and while the Lark was still in port, preparing for the voyage, Mr. Astor received the news that the British North-west Fur Company were preparing to send out an armed ship of twenty guns, called the Isaac Todd, to form an establishment at the mouth of the Columbia. These

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tidings gave him just alarm. A considerable portion of the persons in his employ were Scotchmen and Canadians, and several of them had been in the service of the North-west Company. The British government had already, as Mr. Astor was apprized, been urged by the North-west Company to send a force round Cape Horn to break up his establishment. In this emergency, Mr. Astor wrote to Mr. Monroe, then secretary of state, requesting that Astoria might be garrisoned by forty or fifty men; but under the pressure of other avocations, this subject received no attention from the government. After waiting in vain for a reply to his letter, the Lark was despatched in the month of March. It was not till two months after this period, that he received by Mr. Robert Stuart, whose arrival at St. Louis we have already mentioned, the only tidings connected with the establishment, except the disastrous intelligence of the loss of the Tonquin.

In the month of August, 1812, the Beaver left the Columbia River, with Mr. Hunt on board, to carry on that portion of the project, which related to a connexion with the Russian establishments, on the northwest coast. It was decided by the partners of the concern in Astoria, that, after having visited those establishments, he should be re-landed at the factory in October, by the Beaver, on her way to the Sandwich Islands and Canton. Untoward events, among the Russian establishments, delayed his return. November, December, and January passed away, but brought no tidings of Mr. Hunt, and the most gloomy apprehensions of what might have befallen him and the Beaver were entertained at Astoria. The alarm produced, by this state of things, was increased by the arrival of an unexpected visiter. Mr. George McTavish, a partner of the British North-west Company, made his appearance at the factory, with the unwelcome information, which he had received by express at Lake Winnepeg, that war with Great Britain had been declared. To this intelligence, he added the facts, that the North-west Company were making vigorous preparations to engage in a rivalry with the Astorian establishment, for the fur trade of the Columbia River, and that the Isaac Todd, the armed vessel already mentioned, would arrive there in the month of March, with a view to monopolize it, by the right of the strongest.

This intelligence produced great dejection in the councils of Astoria. Mr. McDougal, left in charge of the establish-

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ment in the absence of Mr. Hunt, and already in affliction at the unpromising state of matters, was now, or pretended to be, in despair. The clerks were disheartened; and as the supposed loss of the Beaver took away all means of withdrawing themselves by water, it was hastily determined to fly before the dangers threatened from a state of hostility, break up the establishment, and retreat across the Rocky Mountains to the United States. In pursuance of this resolution, they suspended all further trading operations. These purposes were communicated to Messrs. Stuart and Clarke, two partners in the concern, stationed at successful hunting posts in the interior. They strongly disapproved the rash conclusions which had been adopted, and hastened to Astoria to oppose them. They soon found reason to suspect Mr. McDougal of disloyalty to the interests of the establishment. Their strenuous opposition occasioned the postponement of the projected desertion of the post, till the ensuing year; but the continued non-arrival of the Beaver, and the gloomy prospect of affairs, in other respects, induced even Messrs. Clarke and Stuart to unite in signing a manifesto, in which (agreeably to the articles of partnership) they announced their purpose of retiring from it, if, before June of the following year, relief was not received from Mr. Astor.

While things were proceeding in this train at Astoria, great alarm was felt by the founder of the enterprise at New York. He received certain intelligence, that the North-west Company had, by exaggerated statements of the importance of Astoria, urged a second time upon the British government to send a force to the Columbia River, and that the frigate Phœbe had, in consequence, been despatched to convoy the Isaac Todd. Mr. Astor once more applied to the government, and the frigate Adams was ordered to the Pacific.

He determined to send the Enterprise under her convoy, with supplies for the establishment. Before either vessel could be despatched, the exigencies of the public service were deemed to require that the crew of the Adams should be transferred to the lakes; and the port of New York being blockaded by a British squadron, the Enterprise was prevented from sailing.

In the mean time disaster had followed disaster in the Pacific Ocean. The Beaver had not been lost, but had been most unfortunately delayed on the coast. These delays had

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so much retarded her movements, that instead of proceeding in her directly down to the Columbia River, according to his instructions, Mr. Hunt deemed it his duty to hasten her voyage to Canton, where she might dispose of the furs collected on the coast. Proceeding in her himself to the Sandwich Islands, he there left her. She held on her way to Canton; and instead of exchanging her cargo as she then might have done for a return cargo, which would have realized three hundred thousand dollars in the United States, Captain Sowle held on for a higher price for his furs, till the market declined, and he saw himself compelled, in consequence of "a pressure in the money market," which then prevailed in the celestial empire, to borrow money, on Mr. Astor's account, at eighteen per cent., and lay up his ship till the return of peace! Mr. Hunt, meantime, was delayed at the Sandwich Islands. He waited in vain for the arrival of the ship, which, according to the plan of the establishment, was annually to be sent. On the 20th of June, 1813, the Albatross arrived at the Sandwich Islands from China, with news of the war. This intelligence explained to Mr. Hunt the cause of the non-appearance of the annual vessel; and supposing that the factory at Astoria must be in great want of supplies, he chartered the Albatross to take him, with such articles as he was able to procure, to the mouth of the Columbia River. Here he arrived on the 20th of August, ten months later than the time he had fixed for his return in the Beaver. He found the settlement in the midst of the festivities, occasioned by the absurd marriage of Mr. McDougal to the daughter of the one-eyed Chinook chief Comcomly.

Mr. Hunt was not slow to perceive the depressed condition of affairs; and though at first shocked with the idea of abandoning the establishment, he found himself at last compelled to acquiesce in it, as an unavoidable calamity. He turned his thoughts, therefore, to the means of withdrawing from it with the least loss to Mr. Astor. To effect this object, he deemed it necessary to find somewhere in the Pacific a vessel, in which he could take the stock of peltries collected at Astoria to a market. The Albatross was bound to the Marquesas, and thence to the Sandwich Islands; and Mr. Hunt determined, after a visit of but six days at Astoria, to take passage in this vessel, in search of a ship for the service stated. He was to return by the 1st of January, 1814, and if any thing occurred

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to detain him, Mr. McDougal was left in sole charge of the affairs of the factory. Arrived at the Marquesas, Mr. Hunt learned from Commodore Porter, who was at those islands in the Essex, that the Phœbe, Cherub, and Raccoon, British vessels of war, were on their way to the Pacific, bound as was supposed, for the mouth of the Columbia River. Mr. Hunt failed in all his attempts to obtain a vessel at the Marquesas, and after remaining there till the 23d of November, a prey to the most afflicting anxieties, he proceeded to the Sandwich Islands in the Albatross. While awaiting here in the long-deferred hope that a vessel despatched by Mr. Astor might arrive, he had the pain of witnessing the disastrous result of another voyage undertaken by that enterprising merchant. The Lark, whose departure from New York has already been mentioned, was cast on one of the Sandwich Islands, a perfect wreck, having all but foundered, a short time before, in a furious gale. She arrived with the loss of several of her men, a shattered hulk; and king Tamaahmaah took advantage of the distressed condition of the ship's company, to stipulate for the entire abandonment of the wreck to him, as the sole condition on which he agreed to dole out some scanty supplies to the survivors. Had even this unfortunate vessel accomplished her voyage in season and in safety, the entire ruin of Astoria might have been averted. Its fate, however, had by this time already been pushed to its crisis. In the month of October, Mr. McTavish appeared with a party of sixty or seventy men, in the employ of the North-west Company, and after some resistance on the part of the other partners at the post, Mr. McDougal took upon himself to sell out to this gentleman, as agent for the North-west Company, all the property of Mr. Astor, and the *good will* of the establishment. The terms of the bargain were dictated by the purchasers, and forty thousand dollars paid for furs worth one hundred thousand dollars.

These arrangements being concluded, on the 30th of November, the Raccoon, a British sloop of war, arrived in the river. Its officers were in high spirits. The agents of the North-west Company, (one of whom was on board the Raccoon,) had magnified the riches which were to fall into the hands of the captors of Astoria. This excitement had been kept up during the voyage by the agent on board, "so that not a midshipman but revelled in dreams of ample prize-money,

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nor a lieutenant that would have sold his chance for a thousand pounds." Their disappointment therefore may easily be conceived, at finding that their warlike attack on Astoria had been forestalled in the way described; — that their anticipated booty had been wrested from them by a trick, and that too by men who had been chiefly instrumental in causing them to be sent on a fool's errand. Mr. McDougal, one of the chief agents of these not very handsome arrangements, was received with pretty cold courtesy on board the Raccoon. In reading the account of this transaction, we have not been able wholly to suppress the query, — what would not have been the exclamations of the horror-struck critical press of Great Britain, over Yankee honesty, had this dexterous manœuvre been the work of brother Jonathan?

On the 12th of December the British flag was hoisted upon the fort at Astoria. On the 28th of February, 1814, Mr. Hunt arrived in the Columbia on board the Pedlar, a vessel which he had chartered at the Sandwich Islands, and found the establishment transferred to its new masters, and Mr. McDougal *entered into partnership with them*. To show, however, their liberality, they offered to sell back to Mr. Astor his own furs, at fifty per cent. advance!

On the return of peace, in virtue of an article in the treaty of Ghent, Astoria, like all other captured places, reverted to the United States; and Commodore Biddle was sent in a vessel of war to take formal possession of it. Mr. Astor, nothing disheartened by the repeated losses he had encountered, endeavored, but unsuccessfully, to induce the government of the United States to coöperate with him in occupying the country. The North-west Company was consequently left to fix itself firmly in the region watered by the Columbia.

This they have done. The spot where the fort of Astoria stood has been abandoned, but another called Fort Vancouver, in the neighbourhood and on the right branch of the river, has been erected by the agents of the North-west Company. The whole region watered by the Columbia is penetrated by their trappers. Hunting parties from the United States also occasionally visit the region from the eastern side of the Rocky Mountains; but not having a *point d'appui* in any establishment, and greatly outnumbered by the British Canadian hunters, collisions are sometimes said to occur between them to the disadvantage of the Americans. The population indepen-

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dent of the hunting business is, of course, small, but is said to be on the increase. Of the restless spirits, who swarm in every part of the country, or flock to it from Europe, a few are already trying their fortunes in this *ultima Thule.* What natural advantages it may offer as the residence of civilized man, cannot perhaps as yet be fully determined. Its climate, in accordance with the uniform analogy of all countries on the western coast of a continent, is much more mild and equable, than that of the same parallels on the eastern side of the continent. The most recent accounts authorize the opinion, that there is the usual average of fertile land, in those portions of the country, where, for geological or topographical reasons, good land is to be expected in any country. Its position at the outlet of the only large river, flowing into the sea, on the western coast of the continent, seems to mark it out as the centre of that great population, which will, in all probability, one day be supported by the commerce of the thousand islands of the Pacific Ocean.

The messengers of Christian benevolence have not been much in the rear of the adventurers, whom merely temporal interests have drawn to this distant spot. Two missionary stations have been taken up in the country west of the Rocky Mountains; one under the patronage of the Methodists, and one under that of the American Board of Commissioners. Interesting accounts from these establishments are in possession of the public.

In our number for October, 1828, we entered somewhat at length into the controversy between Great Britain and the United States, concerning the boundary between the two governments in this quarter. Like the controversy relative to the Northeastern boundary between the possessions of the two countries, it is destined, we fear, to bid defiance to amicable adjustment. By an article of the convention, negotiated in 1818, for ten years, it was left undecided, and the country declared open for hunting and habitation to both parties, but not subject to the exclusive occupation of either. When that convention expired in 1828, the article relative to the Columbia River was moulded into a separate convention, of indefinite duration,* leaving the matter on the same footing; but from which each party is capable of receding on giving

* Not expiring in 1838, as suggested by Mr. Irving.

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twelve months' notice to the other. We are inclined to the opinion, that under the operation of this convention, by which the United States and Great Britain are nominally placed on the same footing, the country is rapidly passing, in reality, into British hands.

Propositions, it is well known, have, at different times, been submitted to Congress, to take some measure by way of appropriating to themselves that portion of the country, which is incontestably within the jurisdiction of the United States, and of bringing the question of boundary to a definitive settlement. Formal attempts to obtain the sanction of Congress, to the establishment of a territorial government, have been made in the House of Representatives; for the last time, in 1829, under the lead of Governor Floyd of Virginia. The project found, at that time, but little favor at Washington. Some of the objections to the territorial occupation were unquestionably of great weight; but not a little of the argument ran upon topics, one would have thought beneath the case. Thus, it was a consideration pretty strongly urged against the proposed measure, that, at some seasons of the year, owing to a heavy surf, the mouth of the Columbia was very difficult of entrance. This is an argument not unlike one, which might have been urged against making an effort for the acquisition of Louisiana, that the mouths of the Mississippi are obstructed by bars. The region watered by the Columbia is not much smaller than the United States, east of the Alleghany Mountains. While the settlements are confined to a few hunting posts near the mouth of the river, the surf that breaks on its bar is a matter of consequence, no doubt; but what is it to the ultimate character and importance of a country, equal in extent to the old United States, and stretching for nine or ten degrees of latitude, along the great ocean?

We do not know that we can better bring our article to a close, than by the concluding paragraphs, on this subject, from Mr. Irving's book.

"It is painful, at all times, to see a grand and beneficial stroke of genius fail of its aim. But we regret the failure of this enterprise in a national point of view; for, had it been crowned with success, it would have redounded greatly to the advantage and extension of our commerce. The profits drawn from the country in question by the British Fur Company, though of ample amount, form no criterion by which to judge of the

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advantages that would have arisen, had it been entirely in the hands of citizens of the United States. That company, as has been shown, is limited in the nature and scope of its operations, and can make but little use of the maritime facilities held out by an emporium and a harbour on that coast. In our hands, besides the roving bands of trappers and traders, the country would have been explored and settled by industrious husbandmen; and the fertile valleys bordering its rivers, and shut up among its mountains, would have been made to pour forth their agricultural treasures to contribute to the general wealth.

"In respect to commerce, we should have had a line of trading posts from the Mississippi and the Missouri across the Rocky Mountains, forming a high road from the great regions of the West to the shores of the Pacific. We should have had a fortified post and port at the mouth of the Columbia, commanding the trade of that river and its tributaries, and of a wide extent of country and seacoast; carrying on an active and profitable commerce with the Sandwich Islands, and a direct and frequent communication with China. In a word, Astoria might have realized the anticipations of Mr. Astor, so well understood and appreciated by Mr. Jefferson, in gradually becoming a commercial empire beyond the mountains, peopled by 'free and independent Americans, and linked with us by ties of blood and interest.'

"We repeat, therefore, our sincere regret, that our government should have neglected the overture of Mr. Astor, and suffered the moment to pass by, when full possession of this region might have been taken quietly, as a matter of course, and a military post established, without dispute, at Astoria. Our statesmen have become sensible, when too late, of the importance of this measure. Bills have repeatedly been brought into Congress for the purpose, but without success; and our rightful possessions on that coast, as well as our trade on the Pacific, have no rallying point protected by the national flag, and by a military force.

"In the mean time, the second period of ten years is fast elapsing. In 1838, the question of title will again come up, and most probably, in the present amicable state of our relations with Great Britain, will be again postponed. Every year, however, the litigated claim is growing in importance. There is no pride so jealous and irritable as the pride of territory. As one wave of emigration after another rolls into the vast regions of the West, and our settlements stretch towards the Rocky Mountains, the eager eyes of our pioneers will pry beyond, and they will become impatient of any barrier or impediment in the way

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of what they consider a grand outlet of our empire. Should any circumstance, therefore, unfortunately occur to disturb the present harmony of the two nations, this ill-adjusted question, which now lies dormant, may suddenly start up into one of belligerent import, and Astoria become the watchword in a contest for dominion on the shores of the Pacific." — Vol. II. pp. 261, 262.

ART. XII. — 1. *An Oration delivered on the Anniversary of the New England Society, Charleston, S. C., December 22d*, 1835 ; *in Commemoration of the Landing of the Pilgrims upon the Rock of Plymouth, December 22d*, 1620. By JOSHUA BARKER WHITRIDGE, A. M., M. D. Published at the request of the Society. Charleston ; E. J. Van Brunt. 1836. 8vo. pp. 62.

2. *Memoirs of a Nullifier. Written by Himself.* By a Native of the South. Columbia, S. C. Printed and published at the Telescope Office. 1832. 12mo. pp. 110.

3. *An Address delivered before the Pilgrim Society of Plymouth, December 22d*, 1835. By Hon. PELEG SPRAGUE. Boston ; Light & Stearns. 1836. 8vo. pp. 32.

WHEN left to our own imaginations, we simpletons of New England fancy that we find very sufficient reason to be satisfied with our history, our condition, and one another. More than almost any other people, we are entitled to call our history our own. Almost as much as any other, we are a homogeneous race ; scarcely the Chinese more so. With the exception of a few Huguenot families who came over at the close of the seventeenth century, and who, from religious sympathy, and other causes, were easily grafted on the primeval vine, we are all descendants of English, established here within thirty years from the earliest settlement. We have not so much as a city, which is a *colluvies* of foreign and domestic elements. The interior feeds the seaports. In the principal of these are a few Irish, mostly arrived since the war, but not sufficient in number to be of any account in estimating the character of the population ; and of other

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emigrants, or descendants of emigrants, not belonging to the original stock, we have almost literally none.

This history of our soil and society, which is at the same time the history of our own progenitors, we should be utterly unwilling (with all respect for the subjects of other histories) to exchange for any other which we read. Had our fathers come hither to secure a condition of more affluence or more ease, there would have been no fault to find with their enterprise. Had they come, because they had not succeeded in getting an honest living at home, this would have been no discreditable motive; and other communities, founded in such a beginning, have risen afterwards to great respectability. But they came for a much better reason than either. They betook themselves to this "outside of the world," to secure to themselves and theirs the liberty of thought and worship. Is there any nobler impulse, under which men can make struggles and sacrifices, and does history tell of another society, which may boast of a similar origin?

The founders of the colonies of Plymouth and Massachusetts differed in some particulars; the former being for the most part of the class of yeomen and artisans, while among the latter were many men of fortune, some belonging to noble families, and numbers educated in all the scholarship and refinements of the time. But, essentially, they were the same sort of men. They had been adherents at home of the same cause, and they came across the water under the same impulse. Arrived here, though independent of each other, both proceeded to build up a society in substantially the same manner; for both went to work in the way which their Anglo-Saxon instincts prompted. They did not pitch their first tent in this chilly land of promise, till they had set up the safeguards of popular freedom. They had hardly looked to the necessities of life, when they provided for the necessities of learning and religion. Taking prudent care of the beginning, they looked steadily and hopefully on to the end. It is past a doubt, that the Massachusetts colonists contemplated, from the first, the establishment of an independent commonwealth. With this view they insisted on bringing their charter over with them, and neither they, nor their descendants, ever abandoned the design, till it was consummated by the war of the Revolution.

The progress of their institutions was the developement of

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the capacities of an intelligent, industrious, religious, heroic race. They won upon the aborigines by their fair and liberal dealing, rather than through the resources of their superior civilization. "I think I can clearly say," said Governor Winslow, of Plymouth, in 1676, "that before these present troubles broke out, the English did not possess one foot of land in this colony, but what was obtained by honest purchase of the Indian proprietors." Always watchful of the great interest, and prodigal of every other, now they are seen opposing an undismayed front to the aggressions of the parent country, and now beggaring their treasury, and lavishing their best blood, in the boldest expeditions against the common enemy, the French. Meanwhile, nothing diverts them, for a moment, from the pursuit, at home, of all measures for building up a strong and prosperous commonwealth. Not only is a competent education provided for every child, at the public cost, but his guardians are compelled, under a penalty, to accept for him the advantage thus afforded. The higher places of education are fostered with a liberal patronage. The town corporations, covering with their several jurisdictions the whole territory, are charged with whatever may be done, by municipal regulation, for the security and comfort of a neighbourhood, and are strictly held to their responsibility by the higher powers. The ministers of the law are made independent of official dictation and of popular caprice; and religion, by a sufficient but cautious provision for the maintenance of its institutions, is aided to enforce its sanctions on the public mind.

Under such auspices, a state of things has grown up, which a man must be querulous to complain of. Dwelling "among our own people" of these six States, we find them a very good people to dwell with. That Massachusetts, for instance, is not a decidedly ineligible home, might be partly conjectured from the fact, that it numbers eighty-seven inhabitants to the square mile, while the Ancient Dominion, blacks included, counts but twenty-five, and the most populous State out of New England, New York, gives to the same space a census of forty-six, little more than half that of the Bay State. With no natural wealth for exportation, except what consists in granite and ice, — "absolutely nothing but rocks and ice," as of late a distinguished southern statesman emphatically testified, — we yet make shift to keep the wolf, Want, from the door. We take good care

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of those who cannot take care of themselves; but no one, among us, so he has but health, needs to fall into poverty. Most things that may be honestly done for a living, are done by one or another of us. We fish, we manufacture, we till ("credat Judæus!"), we trade, and we study. Our *swapping* transactions sometimes employ no little capital, and often carry us a long way from home. The commodore of a Russian exploring expedition lately fell into a fog, just as he had come to flatter himself that he had about reached the world's end, and written his name for immortality with the Vancouvers and Cooks. When it cleared away, he found himself in a fleet of Yankee craft, the commander of one of which offered to pilot him to an excellent roadstead hard by, the old familiar haven of himself and his compeers. Our colleges are in that condition, that, in addition to the granite and ice above commemorated, we find ourselves able to send into other States a few professional men, who, we learn, find a market, and every year, about commencement time, an assortment of teachers in the different ranks, from intructers in the common schools, to presidents and professors in the higher institutions. Each having enough to do of his own, people have the less reason to interfere with one another, except in the way of mutual kind offices, or joint action for public objects. Each being able to depend on himself, there is no motive for servility, and arrogance is awed by the certainty of a prompt and effective rebuke. Men know whom they are dealing with, as they cannot know in one of those recent communities, where a population is collected, not amalgamated; and so escape the tendency to that mutual distrust, which if not a virtue, is a necessity, where there is any strange companionship.

Wherever there is a combination of universal competence and moderate information, occasional wealth and habits of intellectual activity, it might be anticipated with confidence that there would grow up a taste for the elegances of art and literature, and all the refinements of the social state, even if the original stock were less propitious to such fruits than was that of New England. How we actually stand in these respects, it is clearly not for ourselves to judge; nor by any means do we covet to be the subjects of favorable comparisons with our fellow-citizens of other sections of the country. Still it is certain, that comparisons of this kind which are actually made

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by strangers who visit us, to tell what they find, are not such as to distress our vanity. Captain Hall does not mince the matter. "Since coming to Boston," says he, "we have been more struck, and confessed ourselves to be so, with the degree of taste and luxury in all we saw, both in the external appearance of the houses, and in the good sense and good manners within, than with any thing we had before met in the United States." Mrs. Butler and M. de Tocqueville are scarcely less complimentary; and Captain Hamilton, well as he learned his lesson in some other respects, was fain to own that he found in Boston a circle of society, distinguished by "much taste for literature, much liberality of sentiment, a good deal of accomplishment, and a greater amount, perhaps, both of practical and speculative knowledge, than the population of any other mercantile city could supply."

All this looks very well on paper; but still there is reason to fear, that the character of the New England population does not stand altogether well with the multitude of their brethren. How any existing prejudice of the kind arose, it might not be difficult to conjecture; but it would be an invidious inquiry, and we decline it. That, having arisen, it has been perpetuated, is a fact that requires no explanation. An error capable of producing a political effect bears a charmed life. If such things are tolerably well nursed, — and this they are very likely to be, — so notoriously are they beyond the power of mere contradiction, that report says, a political tactician in Pennsylvania, in the canvass of 1828, observing what havoc was making among the votes of the foreign population by the story that the lady of Mr. Adams was a daughter of George III., advised not to waste breath in a denial of the statement, but to work a traverse by reporting that General Jackson had wedded two daughters of that monarch. But however originated or kept alive, the prevalence of the feeling in question, to some unhappy extent, is, we suppose, not to be denied. We learned as much from Captain Hamilton's own book. "The whole Union," says he, "is full of stories of Jonathan's cunning frauds." That traveller's swallow is quick and capacious, and we would rather not rely on him exclusively for such a statement; still its breadth and confidence attach to it a certain interest. Mr. Sprague, author of one of the addresses of which we have prefixed the title, (the late distinguished Senator from Maine,) knows better whereof he affirms, and he

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goes so far as to say; "It has become so common with our brethren of other States, to talk of New England cupidity and fraud, that it is taken by the ignorant abroad to be characteristic of our community." Dr. Whitridge is a native of New England, long resident in the capital of South Carolina. His high station in society, accorded to him by the cordial respect of all to whom he is known, affords him the best opportunities for acquaintance with the state of prevailing sentiment. He too professes his endeavour to have been, in his address delivered on the anniversary of the disembarkation at Plymouth, "to rescue a section of our common country from unmerited reproach;" and specifies the nature of animadversions which have been made, as of the following flattering character.

"Yankees, it has been said, are like a rope of sand; that they have no sympathy for one another; that there is no adhesion among them, either at home or abroad; that they are mean and selfish in their disposition, sly, cunning, apt to overreach; in short, dishonest whenever they can get any thing by it; and that their motto virtually is, if not the avowed principle of action, 'Every man for himself, and God for us all.'" — p. 23.

Here is a pleasant accumulation of compliments to ring on an honest people's ear. One cannot but hope at first, that there is some mistake in the representation, and that single petulant expressions of accidentally prejudiced persons have been taken, by individuals conscious of their own character and jealous for that of their birth-place, for indications of a prevailing sentiment. But we believe it will not do to lay any such flattering unction to our souls. Respecting the authorship of the "Memoirs of a Nullifier," the second work of which we have prefixed the title, we have no knowledge nor ground for suspicion. We have never heard it ascribed to any one but an aged gentleman, who, we are sure from internal evidence, did not write it. The author also professes to be a native of the South, which the individual referred to is not; and that this is not a mere *nom de guerre*, appears from a few southern provincialisms, occurring in what is generally an extremely good style.* The work is "printed and pub-

* Such as *would*, for *should*, in the following sentences; "I found that I would miss the planet by about fifteen inches," and "I hoped that some time or other I would arrive at a stopping-place I saw;" and the use of *dear* so as to rhyme with *fair*, and *tear* with *repair*, in a copy of verses on page 36, indicating a well-known sectional peculiarity of pronunciation.

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lished at the Office of the Telegraph," a journal of well-known ability and influence, edited at the seat of government of South Carolina. That the author has not made his observations on New England men at home, is to be inferred from his small success in representing the peculiarities of their speech. The caricature is not absolutely a bad one, but not nearly as good as a man of so much shrewdness, had he travelled into New England, might be expected to produce. For instance, "I reckon," is not Yankee, but Virginian cacology. "Stranger," as a form of address to a person whose name one does not know, belongs not to the Eastern, but to the Western dialect. *Get along*, when used at all, is used for, "to proceed," and never in the sense intended to be attached to it in the following sentence; "I calculate I 'll make a pretty tolerble considerable speck on what I 've got along." *Mighty*, we have supposed from Colonel Crockett's works, to be a Tennessean, certainly it is not a New England superlative. And "doos you," wherever else it may prevail, we will answer for it, was never heard between the Hudson and the St. Croix.

But wherever and however his studies into the New England character were prosecuted, the result is such as the following specimen may indicate. The work is in form an autobiography. The writer and hero, having occasion to visit the lower regions, falls in, on the way thither, with "the ghost of a Yankee pedlar, who was journeying to the other world with his cart of tin ware and other notions." This personage directly joined him, "and showed himself to be fully as impudent and inquisitive as if he were still alive." The passage of the party over the Styx is delayed half an hour, while the pedlar higgles with Charon for a reduction of the ferriage from twelve cents and a half, the usual fee, to ten cents;" and again, by his plunging into the river after a "cooter," from one of whose bones, when caught, he proceeds to make, with his penknife, an article, which he offers for sale, as "an elegant tortoise-shell comb." Arrived before the judgment-seat of Rhadamanthus, they found him "seated with a great number of large account books before him."

"'Virgil Hoskins is your name, is it?' said he. 'Here it is, among the H's, page 49,358. Ah, Virgil! there 's a terribly long account against you. Let 's see a few of the charges.' *(Reads.)*

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"VIRGIL HOSKINS, DR.

"June 27, 18—, To selling in the course of one peddling expedition, 497,368 wooden *nutmegs*, 281,532 Spanish *cigars* made of oak leaves, and 647 *wooden clocks*.

"What do you say to that charge, Hoskins?

"*Hoskins.* Why, that was counted in our place about the greatest peddlin trip that ever was made over the Potomac.

"*Rhadamanthus reads:* June 29, 18—, To stealing an old grindstone, smearing it over with butter, and then selling it as a cheese.

"*Hoskins, in great surprise.* Jimminny! surely you wouldn't punish a man for that, would you?

"*Rhadamanthus reads:* December 13, 1780, To making a counterfeit dollar of pewter, when you were six years old, and cheating your own father with it.

"*Hoskins.* Daddy was *mighty* glad when he found it out. He said it showed I had a genus.

"*Rhadamanthus reads:* July 2, 18—, To taking a worn-out pair of shoes, which you found in the road, and selling them to a pious old lady, as being actually the shoes of Saint Paul.

"*Hoskins, with exultation:* I made four dollars and twelve and a half cents by that.

"*Rhadamanthus reads:*—July 2, 18—, To taking an empty old watch-case, putting a live cricket into it, and then selling it as a patent lever in full motion.

"*Hoskins.* He, he, he,—that was one of the 'cutest tricks I ever played in all my life.

"*Rhadamanthus.* It would occupy me a week, Hoskins, to go through all the charges against you. These few are sufficient. I really am getting entirely out of patience with New England, for it gives me more trouble than all the rest of the world put together. You are sentenced to be thrown into a lake of boiling molasses, where nearly all your countrymen already are, with that same old grindstone tied to your neck, and to remain there for ever."—pp. 42, 43.

Here is the ideal of the New England character, as exhibited in different aspects in different parts of the story. We have no intention to represent the volume as a malignant libel upon the character of this portion of the country. It is not so. It is simply an easy *jeu d'esprit*, thrown off in the wantonness of "a few long days of summer leisure," which the author says he "knew not how to employ better." Whatever there is of bilious temperament apparent on his part, is vented as much on other characters produced in the nar-

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rative, as on those of Eastern origin; and if there is any thing to choose between the Nullifier himself, his Southern friend, and his Southern mistress, on the one hand, and the Yankees Hooker, Phipps, and Hoskins on the other, it is not very clearly to the disadvantage of the latter triad. Could we regard the volume as a mere ebullition of personal or party spleen, we should look on it much less seriously in its relation to the question now before us. As it is, the writer only meant, for effect's sake, to draw the Yankee character with poetical truth, as it was conceived by those for whom he was writing; and accordingly the delineation shows what those readers were prepared to bear and to expect in the premises. He is no fool, so as to be writing at a venture, and his dedication of the work "to his Excellency James Hamilton, Jr., Governor of South Carolina, whose chivalrous character has procured him the appropriate appellation of the 'Bayard of the South,'" forbids the supposition that he supposed himself to be without sympathy in the highest quarters.

Still the writing is anonymous; and, in a matter of such import, it is natural to like to have names for vouchers. These, it might be supposed, would be difficult to get at, from the natural unwillingness of right-minded men to bring sweeping charges against a whole community, and, especially, from the impossibility (except under circumstances of the highest excitement) of such charges being made in the hearing of those whom they arraign. Yet it cannot be denied, that proof even of this kind is continually presenting itself, to that degree that he who should undertake to collect it in any one department, would find his undertaking to be no sinecure. Let us content ourselves, as to authorities, with the case of the wooden nutmegs, which appear in the van of the pungent extract given above, as well as, with racy repetition, in other parts of the work. Though, man and boy, we have lived in New England nearly half a century, without having seen, or credibly heard, of an actually existing specimen of this fabric, we are obliged to suppose that in some places it is held to be the great result of New England industry; — not salted fish, nor cotton shirtings, nor brown paper spelling-books more so. For instance; a recent number of the "United States Telegraph" is before us, in which we find the Rev. R. C. Postell, of Orangeburg, in South Carolina, (a well-informed and well-intentioned individual, we doubt not, as becomes his profession,) treating

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"the art of making nutmegs and bacon out of wood," as notoriously practised among our "country people." Mr. Senator Preston, ("cujus ab ore melle dulcior fluit oratio") lately came to New England, and left it, being a truly candid and generous man, agreeably impressed with some things which he saw. On his return, he had occasion to address a public meeting, convened to make arrangements for the Charleston and Cincinnati Rail-road, and he took the opportunity to do manly justice to some qualities and effects which had come under his observation. He addressed no rabble, but an audience of gentlemen of property and influence, as the occasion which brought them together implies; but still it seems even the flavorous honey of his tongue would have cloyed, unless spiced with the ever-ready wooden nutmegs. We cannot deny ourselves the gratification of setting down his remarks. The taste of their general tenor was his own. The incident we have hinted at was but a deference to the taste, while it was a distinct recognition of the opinions, of his hearers. We extract from the "Columbia Telescope."

"Mr. Preston, in his speech concerning the Rail-road, on Monday last, drew a very striking contrast between the difference of character of the people of the Northern and of the Southern parts of the Union, and the consequently opposite condition of the countries that they inhabit.

"He said that no Southern man can journey (as he had lately done) through the Northern States, and witness the prosperity, the industry, the public spirit, which they exhibit, the sedulous cultivation of all those arts by which life is rendered comfortable and respectable, without feelings of deep sadness and shame, as he remembers his own neglected and desolate home. There, no dwelling is to be seen abandoned, no farm uncultivated, no man idle, no waterfall, even, unemployed. Every person and every thing performs a part towards the grand result, and the whole land is covered with fertile fields, with manufactories, and canals, and rail-roads, and public edifices, and towns and cities. Along the route of the great New York canal, (that glorious monument of the glorious memory of De Witt Clinton,) a canal, a rail-road, and a turnpike, are to be seen in the width of perhaps a hundred yards, each of them crowded with travel, or overflowing with commerce. Throughout their course, lands, that before their construction would scarcely command five dollars the acre, now sell for fifty, seventy-five, or a hundred. Passing along it, you see no space of three miles without a town or village, and you are never out of the sound of a church bell.

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"We of the South are mistaken in the character of these people, when we think of them only as pedlars in horn flints and bark nutmegs. Their energy and enterprise are directed to all objects, great and small, within their reach. At the fall of a scanty rivulet, they set up their little manufactory of wooden buttons or combs; they plant a barren hill-side with broom corn, and make it into brooms at the bottom, — and on its top they erect a windmill. Thus, at a single spot, you may see the air, the earth, and the water, all working for them. But, at the same time, the ocean is whitened to its extremities with the sails of their ships, and the land is covered with their works of art and usefulness.

"Massachusetts is perhaps the most flourishing of the Northern States. Yet, of natural productions, she exports but two articles — granite and ice. Absolutely nothing but *rock* and *ice!* Every thing else of her commerce, from which she derives so much, is artificial, — the work of her own hands.

"All this is done, in a region with a bleak climate and sterile soil, by the energy and intelligence of the people. Each man knows that the public good is his individual advantage. The number of rail-roads, and other modes of expeditious intercommunication, knits the whole country into a closely-compacted mass, through which the productions of commerce and of the press, the comforts of life, and the means of knowledge, are universally diffused; while the close intercourse of travel and business makes all men neighbours, and promotes a common interest and common sympathy. In a community thus connected, a single flash of thought pervades the whole land, almost as rapidly as thought itself can fly. The population becomes, as it were, a single set of muscles, animated by one heart, and directed by a common sensorium.

"How different the condition of things in the South!" &c.

We hope that Mr. Preston's predecessor in the United States' Senate had the opportunity of listening to these remarks. They would not fail to enlarge his conceptions of the New England mind. At the time of his famous debate with Mr. Webster, the relation of his party to the federal councils was critical, and he tried hard to do the civil thing by New-England, though the course of his argument led him to no measured treatment of its leaders. But the kindest intentions could carry him no further than to an acknowledgment of its "steady habits and hardy virtues," while, speaking of other portions of the country, his fervor could luxuriate in such epithets as "the gallant West," "great and magnanimous Virginia," and the "noble disinterestedness, ardent love of

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country, exalted virtue, and pure and holy devotion to liberty of the people of the Southern States."

The delusion we have referred to, there is too much reason to fear, has been conveyed, with the course of population, across the mountains. The most unambiguous expression of its existence there, which we recollect to have lately observed, in a respectable quarter, occurred on the presentation of the navy appropriation bill, at the last session of Congress. On that occasion, standing in his place among the representatives of the people, Mr. Hardin, of Kentucky, in debate with Mr. Cushing, of Massachusetts, is represented in the reports of the discussion, to have

"hit at cod fishery, wooden nutmegs, and tin peddling, and said that the gentleman from Massachusetts came from a section of country, where the people could see a dollar with the naked eye, as far as he could through a telescope."

Mr. Hardin is a man of unimpeached and unimpeachable veracity. His reputation for blunt frankness is implied in the very *soubriquet* by which he is best known. We are persuaded that the saving of his right hand would be no bribe to him to affirm what he did not believe. We are bound therefore to understand, that this is actually his opinion, concerning the population to which his remarks apply. It is his opinion, because he has lived where the doctrine was inculcated, and because, being guileless, he is unsuspecting, and easily practised upon. In ascribing his unfortunate error to credulity, we do no injustice to his understanding. He is not only an honest man, but an able. But all men are gullible. Not more true is it, that all men are mortal; and just as certainly as this gentleman and his neighbours believe what they do of New England and its nutmegs, they might with the proper appliances, be brought to believe that the moon is made of green cheese. Let them take care that some Yankee does not, before long, beguile their simplicity into that error.

We do not undertake to refute the doctrine of the nutmegs. There are no resources, in logic, to prove a negative. Accordingly, in reason and in law, the burden of proof is thrown on the other side, and we have never yet seen an indictment with specifications, to put the party accused on his defence. Dishonest men, we suppose, are the growth of every soil. We have no difficulty in allowing that such may have been

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born in New England ; and on the other hand, if no fraudulent bargain was ever made by a native of Kentucky or South Carolina, it is time that those States asserted for themselves a place in the eye of the world and of history, to which no other community, as far as we know, has ever yet ventured to lay claim. That dishonest men, of New England birth, should have practised their arts more freely abroad than at home, is also a very credible thing. The class of rovers is generally found to embrace a portion of those who were in no good esteem at their starting-place, and bad men never conduct themselves so ill as in places where they are but transient sojourners. Also, when a wrong has been committed by such foul birds of passage, there is always danger that it may be laid at some door where it ought not to lie ; for the injured has small opportunity to examine the baptismal record of him whom he finds occasion to revile ; and where, for instance, as in North Carolina, peddling is carried on by native citizens, if a fraud occurs, the sufferer, under his double stimulus of personal indignation and sectional patriotism, is extremely likely to impute to New England, what is, in fact, chargeable to the next county to that where he is complaining.

We will plead, then, to the nutmegs, whenever some case shall be presented ; saying nothing further about them meanwhile, than that the general charge of dishonest transactions would really have seemed to us antecedently more probable, if some other form of dishonesty had been alleged instead of this. For we know of no tree and no art existing in New-England, from and by which a tolerable counterfeit of the fruit nutmeg could be produced. It is neither one of the geometrical figures, nor a combination of two or more. We apprehend that the lathe which could shape its likeness is yet to be invented ; and though the Yankee penknife, like the Yankee axe, is a potent tool, it would for this use require an amount of time, which could not profitably be afforded. Further, we suppose that, all over the world, people, who buy nutmegs, buy them for their aromatic property ; and of this we never heard of any substance, which would afford an imitation, capable of cheating the most unpractised olfactory organ. Our friends do us more than justice in one view, while in another they do us less. Wise as they give us credit for being, we are not equal to work like this.

Of specific charges of mal-practice against our population,

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we suppose that to which we have referred to be decidedly the most prominent, and to rest on the highest authority. There are others of a more general nature, referred to in the publications from which we have quoted, on two or three of which we would bestow a little attention.

An impression has gone abroad, that the inhabitants of New England are an excessively *frugal* people. It ought better to be known why, when, and how far they are frugal. It is a point of honor with a New England man to maintain his family, and pay his debts. Is he any the worse for that? and how shall he do it, living, as he does, in a country of harsh climate and penurious soil? He cannot do it, except by persevering industry, and a methodical and prudent management of his affairs. If he is to be honest, he must be careful. Accordingly it is his custom, in pecuniary transactions, to avoid waste, and to stand for his rights. When he buys, he has first compared his wants with his means, and he does not intentionally give more for a thing than it is worth to him. What he has to sell, he has worked hard for, with a view to put it to some good use; and when he parts with it, he expects to get its value. This, it must be owned, is, for a general rule, the habit of the country, and not merely the custom of the poorest. A load of wood is driven to your door by a person, who perhaps might turn out, on inquiry, to be a *selectman* of his town, possibly even a representative in the General Court. When you have paid your fifteen or twenty dollars for your fuel, he expects you to pay him further the little piece of silver, which it cost him to have the wood surveyed. Why should he not? It is his right. He paid the money to the licensed measurer, for your greater security. There is no meanness in his demanding it back; there would be meanness in your grudging to refund it. There is no reason whatever, why he should give it to you. There is reason why he should keep it, to increase what he means to give in some other quarter. And if you follow him home the same day, it is very likely that you find him visiting some sick or aged neighbour's house, with a present, (the fruit of his expedition,) or going into town-meeting to vote for or urge some liberal appropriation, a full share of which is to come out of his pocket, for schools, roads, or alms-houses.

We should like, for the curiosity's sake, to see some system of ethics, which should show it to be otherwise than a duty,

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to spare that one may have to spend and give. We should be gratified to see a set argument to prove, what in some quarters is so constantly taken for granted, that it is praiseworthy to be so thoughtless and easy in one's money affairs, as to have nothing to bestow when some good object requires an appropriation. The New England notion of the honorableness and the uses of economy is different. Practical illustrations of it, as it is actually entertained, might be had in any plenty for the seeking. Let us see how things go on, in this respect, in Boston. We have no more convenient way of getting at a general idea of them, than by making an abridgment from the Appendix to President Quincy's Address on the second centennial anniversary of the settlement of that city.

President Quincy gives a list in specific sums of, 1. "Amounts received from the liberality of the citizens of Boston towards objects of a moral, religious, or literary character, chiefly within the last thirty years," making a total of $1,155,986; of which $354,400 were given to the Massachusetts Hospital; $222,696 to Harvard College; $79,582 to the Female Orphan Asylum, and $75,000 to the Athenæum. 2. Contributions for the relief of sufferers in five northern towns by fire, amounting to $67,462. 3. "Moneys raised within the time specified by various contributions, or by donations of individuals, for the patronizing of distinguished merit, or for the relief of men eminent for their public services (testamentary bequests not included,) $108,400. 4. "Amounts collected for objects of general charity, or for the promotion of literary, moral, or religious purposes, by or under the influence of various religious societies in the metropolis (not including the particular annual objects of expenditure of each society,) $469,425. The sum total of particulars thus collected is $1,801,273. Mr. Quincy adds, that

"The object on this occasion has not been completeness, which was known to be impracticable, but as near an approximation to it as was possible. How far short the statement in this item is from the real amount collected, may be gathered from this fact, that information was requested for the amount collected within the last thirty years; yet more than half the sum stated in this item arose from collections made *within the last ten years*. As a further illustration, it may not be improper to state, that, within the last twelve years *five* citizens of Boston have deceased, whose bequests for objects exclusively of public

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interest or benevolence, when united, amount to a sum exceeding *three hundred thousand dollars*, and that one of these during the last twenty years of his life, is known to have given away towards similar objects, a sum equal to *ten* thousand dollars annually."

This collection of facts was made in the autumn of 1830. If it were brought down to the present day, it would have to include, in a large variety of memoranda of the same kind, the munificent establishment of the Blind Asylum by a long-tried public benefactor still living, and the institution, announced just before the time when we are writing, of free lectures in departments of science and literature, with an endowment of $250,000, by a young Bostonian, who made the last arrangements for the execution of his plan in a distant city of Asia, whither he had gone for the purpose of enriching his countrymen with observations of his own mind.

But this, it will be said, is Boston, the chief seat of New England wealth, and a place wrought upon by influences of its own. It is Boston; and what then? Boston is a mere *abstraction* of New England, and a large portion of the men who are there most public-spirited and useful, have brought thither the principles and habits, which make them so, from some interior place of their nativity. Let us see what economy means, and what it comes to, in the country towns. An extract from Mr. Emerson's Centennial Discourse at Concord will serve us for that purpose; we will pledge ourselves to multiply such collections of facts as long as our revilers will have patience to read them.

"In the whole course of the war, the town did not depart from this pledge it had given. Its little population of 1300 souls, behaved like a party to the contest. The number of its troops constantly in service is very great. Its pecuniary burdens are out of all proportion to its capital. The economy so rigid, which marked its earlier history, has all vanished. It spends profusely, affectionately, in the service. 'Since,' say the plaintive records, 'General Washington, at Cambridge, is not able to give but 24s. per cord for wood, for the army; it is voted, that this town encourage the inhabitants to supply the army, by paying two dollars per cord, over and above the General's price, to such as shall carry wood thither;' and 210 cords of wood were carried. A similar order is taken respecting hay. Whilst Boston was occupied by the British troops,

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Concord contributed to the relief of the inhabitants £70 in money; 225 bushels of grain; and a quantity of meat and wood. When, presently, the poor of Boston were quartered by the Provincial Congress on the neighbouring country, Concord received 82 persons to its hospitality. In the year 1775, it raised 100 minute men, and 74 soldiers to serve at Cambridge. In March, 1776, 145 men were raised by this town to serve at Dorchester Heights. In June, the General Assembly of Massachusetts resolved to raise 5000 militia, for six months, to reinforce the Continental army. 'The numbers,' say they, 'are large, but this court has the fullest assurance, that their brethren on this occasion, will not confer with flesh and blood, but will, without hesitation, and with the utmost alacrity and despatch, fill up the numbers proportioned to the several towns.' On that occasion, Concord furnished 67 men, paying them itself, at an expense of £622. And so on, with every levy, to the end of the war. For these men, it was continually providing shoes, stockings, shirts, coats, blankets, and beef. The taxes, which, before the war, had not much exceeded £200 per annum, amounted, in the year 1782, to $9544 in silver. The great expense of the war was borne with cheerfulness, whilst the war lasted; but years passed, after the peace, before the debt was paid. As soon as danger and injury ceased, the people were left at leisure to consider their poverty and their debts. The town records show how slowly the inhabitants recovered from the strain of excessive exertion." — pp. 37–38.

The spirit of the administration of the towns is referred to by the same writer, in a succeeding paragraph. It is the spirit, in New England, — as anybody may know, who will be at pains to inquire, — of whatever may appear to be distinctive in habits of public and private economy; and, if there were more of it in the world, we are sure it would be all the better, both for individual character and the general well-being.

"The tone of the records rises with the dignity of the event. These soiled and musty books are luminous and electric within. The old town-clerks did not spell very correctly, but they contrive to make pretty intelligible the will of a free and just community. Frugal our fathers were, — very frugal, — though, for the most part, they deal generously by their minister, and provide well for the schools and the poor. If at any time, in common with most of our towns, they have carried this economy

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to the verge of a vice, it is to be remembered that a town is, in many respects, a financial corporation. They economize, that they may sacrifice. They stint and higgle on the price of a pew, that they may send 200 soldiers to General Washington, to keep Great Britain at bay. For splendor, there must somewhere be rigid economy. That the head of the house may go brave, the members must be plainly clad, and the town must save that the State may spend." — pp. 41, 42.

These allusions to transactions of the revolutionary war, naturally suggest the thought of what is so largely said and sung, respecting the New Englanders being an *unchivalrous* people. Perhaps they are so. We hardly know whether to affirm or deny; for the word *chivalrous*, in its recent use in some parts of the United States, is one of the most vague of Americanisms. We exceedingly desire to see a dictionary, in which the new application of the word shall be authoritatively explained. If to be chivalrous implies a readiness to fatal street broils, most unchivalrous are we, for the halter is our standing remedy for the propensity to assassination, once developed in the act. Nay, our laws (and we feel confident in saying, our juries too, though the case has not yet come up,) make absolutely no difference between a murder after a challenge has been passed, and one gone about without that formality; and our soil is almost literally unstained by blood shed in what has been fancifully called honorable combat. But he who would hazard the assertion, that the New England race is not one of the most adventurous and indomitable courage, has little thought what stiff facts he undertakes to deal with, in their history. The account of the early contests with the natives is crowded with a succession of the most romantic achievements. From the period of the first collision between French and English on this continent, down to the taking of Quebec, the New England colonies were readiest for every sacrifice, and foremost in every danger. The capture of Louisbourg itself, in 1745, is not chiefly an interesting fact because it was the only success obtained by the English arms during a long war, and gave peace to Europe, but because of the extraordinary developement of character, in the successful expedition of a few regiments of colonial militia against a distant fortress, one of the strongest of the world both by nature and art. In respect to the extent of the part taken by New England, and especially

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by Massachusetts, in the war of the Revolution, Mr. Sprague presents the following statements.

"New England, Massachusetts, then a feeble colony, alone raised the note of defiance against the whole power of the British empire; not on account of any actual oppression practically felt, which alone could have roused the phlegmatic, the sordid, or the selfish; but for a principle, — a doctrine, — for the mere assertion that Parliament had a right to legislate over them. If they had been cold, calculating, and narrow-minded, if they had regarded themselves only, their ease, their safety, or their property, they would have submitted, and left future generations to battle for themselves. But they did not. They knew that the time had come, when they must relinquish their long-cherished visions of hope, their warm and glowing anticipations for their posterity, those free principles of government, which they had labored to establish for all future generations, for all mankind, or they must fight; and, however unequal, however desperate the conflict, they could not hesitate. Their purpose was no ebullition of passion, it was not a solitary gleam of patriotism, which shot up and expired, or a spasm of disinterestedness exhausted by one convulsive effort; but a continued and enduring enthusiasm and spirit of self-sacrifice, which has never been exceeded.

"Exposed as she was on all sides, bordering for hundreds of miles on the territory of the enemy, and for hundreds more of seacoast open to every incursion of his invincible marine, still she did not confine her efforts within herself, but sent her sons wherever blows were to be dealt, or blood to be shed; among the foremost in every battle field, from the northern borders to the confines of Georgia; in every enterprise of danger, in every scene of suffering, whether from the violence of the elements in the untented field, or half clothed, half fed, marching against British veterans, staining the frozen earth at every step with their unshod feet; or driving the western savages from their fastnesses; or traversing the frozen wilds of Maine and Canada in a winter's march, the most wonderful in history, far exceeding the celebrated retreat of the ten thousand or Hannibal's crossing the Alps.

"And those, too, who remained at home, scarcely less devoted and suffering, ever laboring in the same great cause, yielding up their property, parting with their last hoof, offering up their last bushel of grain, submitting to privation and want, and yet never faltering or doubting or hesitating in their course, until the work of absolute independence was accomplished. Would

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that the records of every town and every association of New England could be inspected by the world. The public archives of the nation can do them but partial justice. By them, however, it is demonstrated that New England, and Massachusetts in particular, throughout the whole war, voluntarily furnished to the general cause contributions of men and money very far beyond her due proportion. As these facts are strikingly exhibited by the official documents, — and I am not aware that a comparative statement has ever been presented to the public, — you will pardon me in this for going a little into detail, which I have not ventured upon any other topic.

"In the first year of the war, 1775, the whole number of Continental troops was 27,443, of which more than one half were from Massachusetts, then embracing the territory which now constitutes the State of Maine; and only 2,475 were from States out of New England.

"In 1776, when a more general organization had been effected, Massachusetts furnished more than all the four Middle States, New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, and Deleware united,— and more than all the five States of Maryland, Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina, and Georgia united.

"In 1777 commenced a new era. In that and every succeeding year of the war, the quotas to be furnished from each State were prescribed by the Continental Congress. The requisitions upon Massachusetts and Virginia were always equal. But the liberality of the Bay State in complying with them far exceeded that of any other.

"In each of the years 1777, '78, '79, and '80, her contributions nearly equalled the whole of those from the four States of New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, and Delaware; or of the four States south of the Potomac, — Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina, and Georgia.

"In each of the years 1781, '82, and '83, her single contributions very far exceeded the aggregate of those of New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, and Delaware, as also the aggregate of those of Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina, and Georgia.

"If we combine all these years, and take the aggregates of the whole war, from 1775 to 1783 inclusive, it will be found that Massachusetts furnished more troops for the Continental service than all the Middle States just mentioned, and more than all the five States of Maryland, Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina, and Georgia; and that, of the whole aggregate number from all the thirteen States, more than a fourth, approaching to indeed to one third, were from this Commonwealth alone!

"In pecuniary supplies, the contrast is scarcely less striking.

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This Commonwealth not only contributed more than any other State, but the excess of her payments into the general treasury, over what she drew from it, far exceeded that of any other. Indeed, the balance in her favor was not only greater than that of all the four Middle States before mentioned, or of all the four States south of the Potomac, with Maryland in addition, but exceeded that of all the other twelve united. Of the whole excess, more than half was from Massachusetts alone!

"During the whole war of the revolution, her preëminence was never questioned, — then, in the day of trial and of terror, when the storm lowered and darkness covered our whole horizon, the first rank was freely conceded to her." — pp. 19 – 22.

This extract brings into view another of the current charges against the New England population, — that of their *coldness*. For a cold people, they have unquestionably been apt to kindle in past time rather easily; and that too sometimes at nothing more heating, than the prospect of some distant or abstract good or evil. Cautious and reserved, perhaps it may be truly said they are; and these are qualities of manner, which, however objectionable in point of gracefulness and power of conciliating, are often found connected with qualities of character, of the substantial class of self-respect and love of consistency. But it can hardly be among a merely unfeeling, phlegmatic people, that so many of the great benevolent enterprises of the day have had their origin. With the wisdom of those enterprises, all or any, we have nothing now to do. But it is scarcely to be denied that they are enterprises of an adventurous and comprehensive sort, indicating something of a sanguine temperament on the part of their projectors; and the more indeed any of them can be shown to be of a visionary character, the less do they agree with the theory of their having proceeded from a people merely calculating and frigid.

The truth is, there are certain traits, prominent in the New England character, such as love of order and the habit of self-control, which hasty observers mistake for tokens of a want of earnestness. Was there ever a more sublime rage than the people within a day's march of Boston were in, on the 19th of April, 1775? yet we lately heard an eminent South-western statesman amusing himself with the fact of their going to work, the day after, giving and taking depositions respecting the circumstances of the affray. Why not? What

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did this show, but their love of right, order, and law, not suspended by the sanguinary work of a revolution? They had fought for a cause, and they wished to make that good cause appear. They were not a riotous people, ready to go to blows with or without reason. They owed it to their respect for themselves and others, to show that they had not unnecessarily shed blood, at the free rate they did. It was no repenting of the conflict, or shrinking from its consequences or its prosecution; for at the moment these depositions were taking, the country was pouring down its regiments of minute-men, under such epauletted justices of the peace, as could be spared, to seal up the invader hermetically within Boston neck. — Bunker Hill fight was a thing gone about with great deliberation and arrangement; but never before had militiamen done such desperate service. Nor let any of the gentlemen whom we have quoted suppose that when we refer to the valor and constancy which have made that day immortal, we are but imposing on them a Yankee version of General Jackson's exploit at New Orleans forty years later, with his Tennesseeans. If they doubt, we shall show them Southern authorities for the truth of the statement; and if they will ever wander into that polar and barbarous region of the Atlantic coast, which lies about 42° of north latitude, their eyes shall behold the very spot, where the thing we are telling of was done.

But respecting this attributed coldness in the New England character, we should do injustice to our readers to speak in any other than Mr. Sprague's words. With one more quotation from his eloquent address, we dismiss the subject, for the present. There are other connected topics on which we intended to touch; but our remarks have already extended themselves to an entirely unexpected length, and we have more than exhausted our space.

"*Enthusiasm* was the characteristic of our fathers; they transmitted it to their posterity, and, startling as the proposition may seem, it has ever been the *basis* of the New England character; — not indeed exhibited externally, and rarely open to superficial observation.

"The Puritans, before they left their native country, were surrounded on all sides by enemies, and subjected to violence and oppression from the arm of government, to which they opposed only caution, circumspection, and a fixed immovable

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resolution, necessarily begetting much of sternness and severity in their external demeanour. Ever calm and self-controlled, they adopted a rigid system of education for their children, by which outward manifestations of internal emotion were forbidden and repressed. But the fire which was not permitted to break forth, only glowed with the more enduring intensity within, the fountain of that restless energy of character which, whatever the object of pursuit, impels them forward with a boldness and activity equalled by no other people on earth. This is the great moral power which, however directed, is sure to produce the most striking results. From obvious causes, it has generally been directed to some branch of productive industry. Their poverty, their barren soil and ungenial climate, their laws of equal distribution of estates allowing no entailments or continued accumulations for posterity, have necessarily, in time of peace, thrown almost every New England man upon some gainful pursuit. He enters upon it with all his characteristic energy and perseverance; and hence the opinion that he is peculiarly sordid and avaricious. Others see only a thirst for gain, in what, in truth, is but one developement of his constitutional enthusiasm. He is seen calm, cool, self-subdued, with no apparent ardor of temperament, with no pressing physical wants, impelled not by the approach of starvation like the over-crowded population of other countries, yet going forward with an activity and inflexibility of purpose which outstrip all competition. He is seen upon the ocean, meeting the world on a fair field of equal competition, traversing every sea, penetrating every coast, daring every climate, everywhere producing greater results with less means than any competitor; and whatever his object, whether it be drawing its treasures from the bosom of the deep, or pressing with gainful commerce its heaving surface, pursuing it with a bolder spirit, grasping with a stronger hand, striking with a more unerring aim, and spreading his sails for a more daring flight. The same phenomenon is seen on land; whether it be as a hunter beyond the Rocky Mountains, or a pioneer in felling the forest, and subduing the soil, or in building up cities and constructing rail-roads, still there is the same untiring devotion of all his time and all his faculties.

"But those who think that gain alone is the governing and impelling motive, if they will but extend their observation, will see the same intensity in every other pursuit, although neither gold nor gain can be hoped. In war with the aborigines, where no spoils were to be won, they obtained a superiority, not merely from civilized arts, but in those qualities which civilization is supposed to enfeeble, and for which the savage is most

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distinguished. They made themselves more active in the race, more sagacious in the council, more watchful in the ambush, and more untiring in the pursuit. In civilized warfare, too, the same characteristics have been displayed, whether with Paul Jones, and Isaac Hull, and Samuel Tucker, and David Porter, on the ocean, or at Louisbourg, or Bunker Hill, or Quebec, or Niagara. In the paths of Christian benevolence, what missionaries have exhibited a more fearless and devoted spirit, whether among the North American Indians, or at Indostan, or the Sandwich Islands, or at Sumatra, faithful even unto death?

"The effects of this pervading zeal and ardor and energy are seen everywhere. It is this which has studded our iron-bound coast with cities and villages, and clothed our barren fields with verdure, — which has subdued the forest and spread far and wide the beams and the blessings of civilization. Other parts of our country have been peopled originally from other portions of Europe; but go where you will, the effects of New England enterprise and skill and labor are seen and felt. In every State of the Union, you will find that they have taken the lead in energy and activity, and wherever there have been the greatest advances, there you may be sure to find the sons of New England. The Puritan blood flows everywhere, swelling every vein of this great republic, diluted perhaps by intermixture, enfeebled perhaps, but still imparting something of its pristine strength and ardor." — pp. 9 – 11.

Art. XIII. — CRITICAL NOTICES.

1. — *Collections of the Massachusetts Historical Society. Vol. V. of the Third Series.* 8vo. pp. 300. Boston; Russell, Shattuck, & Co. 1836.

We are glad to find that this highly respectable Society continues to add volume after volume to our stores of historical information, and is as vigorously productive in its old age, as it was at its formation, nearly fifty years ago. It is among the oldest of our literary and philosophical societies, and we know of none that has published so much, either in amount or value, or whose transactions reflect more credit on the intellectual character of the country. Twenty-five octavo volumes, relating to American history and antiquities, make a large and substantial contribution to our literary treasures.

At the time of the Society's institution, in 1791, the plan

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which it projected was a novel one. Its purpose was to collect and preserve the scattered records and papers relating to the history of this country, for the benefit and instruction of after times. Its object was not merely to drag forth these dusty and mouldering manuscripts from their forgotten hiding-places in old family cabinets, and deposit them in a safe place, where they might be accessible to the scholar and the antiquarian; but its chief aim was to secure their perpetuity, and extend the knowledge which they contained, by multiplying copies through the agency of the press, and thus putting them within the reach of the inquisitive in all parts of the country. Its object was not to hoard, but to diffuse, these treasures. And experience had abundantly shown the great need of such a measure. The irreparable loss of Governor Bradford's History of Plymouth Colony, the shameful destruction of Governor Hutchinson's papers by the mob in 1765, and the depredations committed by the British soldiers on the invaluable collections of Prince, deposited in the steeple of the Old South Church, all proved that there was no security for our ancient documents, so long as they remained in manuscript.

It was, then, an important and necessary work which this Society proposed to itself, and one which it has pursued with great singleness of aim and intensity of purpose for nearly half a century. If it had done nothing more than print Hubbard's History of New England from the original manuscript, it would have conferred a lasting obligation on the community. Its collections are now continually appealed to, as unquestionable authorities, wherever an interest is taken in American history. No one presumes to write the history of a town or a State, without referring to them for information; and it may be safely asserted that the admirable history of the United States, which has lately proceeded from the pen of Mr. Bancroft, never could have been written without the use of the materials which this Society had so amply provided and so liberally dispensed.

The volume now before us, which the Society has just issued, yields to none of its predecessors in interest and value. The articles are nearly all printed from original manuscripts preserved in its archives. Several of them relate to great public transactions and events; and those of a private character are full of those minute particulars and details, narrated with perfect simplicity and naturalness, which lend such a touching interest to the diaries and autobiographies of our fathers. Our limits will permit us only to glance at the contents of the volume.

1. The first article, consisting of seventy pages, is the Jour-

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nal, never before printed, of the proceedings of the Congress held at Albany, in 1754, and which sat for twenty-two days, for the purpose of treating with the Six Nations of Indians, and concerting a scheme of general union among the British American colonies against the French and their Indian allies. This congress was held at the suggestion and under the sanction of the mother country, and Governor Hutchinson, who was himself a member of it, justly remarks in his History of Massachusetts, that "it was the most deserving of respect of any which had ever been convened in America, whether we consider the colonies which were represented, the rank and characters of the delegates, or the purposes for which it was convened." Governor Livingston says of this convention, that "the commissioners were, both for abilities and fortune, some of the most considerable men in North America. The speakers were not many; but of those who spoke, some delivered themselves with singular energy and eloquence. All were inflamed with a patriotic spirit, and the debates were nervous and pathetic. This assembly might very properly be compared to one of the ancient Greek conventions for supporting their expiring liberty against the power of the Persian empire, or that Louis of Greece, Philip of Macedon." The plan of union which was agreed upon by the Congress, was drawn up by Franklin, who was one of the commissioners; but it was rejected, on different grounds, both by the colonial assemblies and by the government at home, the assemblies thinking that there was too much prerogative in it, and the government that there was too much of the democratic. Some estimate may be formed of the value of this document from the fact, which has lately come to our knowledge, that the accomplished chief magistrate of our State, than whom there is no one among us more familiar with the history of the country, some years since had an exact transcript of it made under his own eye, being unwilling that the record of so important a transaction should exist only in a single manuscript. Five hundred printed copies of it now put it beyond the reach of destruction.

2. The second article, of twenty-five pages, is a journal, now first printed, of a negotiation at Albany, in August, 1775, between the Six Nations and commissioners of the Continental Congress. It is well known that the attention of Congress was very early drawn to the importance of securing the alliance, or at least the neutrality, of the Indian tribes during the impending conflict with the mother country; and commissioners were accordingly appointed to treat with the Indians, to preserve peace and friendship, and to prevent their taking any part in the

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approaching commotions. This journal shows the prudence and skill with which the commissioners discharged their difficult and delicate duty, in their interview with the powerful and warlike tribes that dwelt along the southern shore of Lake Ontario.

3. The third article is a very interesting journal, kept by Captain Christopher Gist, of Virginia, a frontier settler and a pioneer of the forest, who accompanied Washington in 1753, in his tour over the Alleghany Mountains, to visit the commander of the French fort on the Ohio. Washington's narrative of that expedition, it is well known, was published at the time, and is contained in Mr. Sparks's admirable edition of his Writings; but the journal of his only companion in this arduous and perilous enterprise has never before seen the light. Some of the adventures and hair-breadth escapes here related are singularly romantic, particularly Washington's narrow escape from drowning when he fell from the raft in the Alleghany river, and his miraculous deliverance from the deliberate and deadly aim of an Indian's rifle.

4. The next article, of sixty-seven pages, is General Lincoln's Journal of his tour, when sent by Washington in 1793, in company with Timothy Pickering and Beverley Randolph, to effect a treaty with the Indian tribes northwest of the Ohio, who were then in a state of hostility with the United States. This journal is peculiarly interesting at this time, as presenting a graphic description of the state of the country through which the writer passed, more than forty years ago, from Philadelphia by the way of New York, Albany, the Mohawk river, Wood Creek, Lake Oneida, Lake Ontario, and Niagara, to Detroit. It likewise contains, as do the first and second articles in the volume, the best specimens of Indian eloquence and diplomatic skill, that we have ever met with. Appended to the Journal is a beautiful lithographic copy of a sketch of the conference with the Indians at Buffalo Creek, in 1793, taken on the spot by a young British officer who was present. It is well remarked by the publishing committee that "an exhibition of that occurrence so many years since, multiplied by an art then undiscovered, is a suitable appendage to the relation of a tour in the land where all the objects which then solicited the traveller's attention, except Ontario, Erie, and Niagara, are totally changed."

5. The fifth article, which we are inclined to think will prove the most generally acceptable, is an autobiography of the Rev. John Barnard, of Marblehead, who was born at Boston in 1681, and died in 1770, in his 89th year. This paper was drawn up in 1766, when the writer was in his 85th year, for the use of President Stiles, of Yale College. It records in a very simple

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and touching manner, his life and adventures from his school-boy days to his declining years. And his was an eventful life; he went as chaplain in the expedition against Port Royal in 1707, of which he gives a very minute account from the journal which he kept; was present at the trial of Sacheverel in Westminster Hall, in 1709; was the cotemporary and opponent of the Mathers, and had great and deserved influence both in church and state. In 1741, he oppposed "the Whitfieldian ferment," as he calls it, and was appointed by the convention to draw up their "public testimony against the errors and bad practices prevalent" at that time. It was likewise by his advice and recommendation, that Holyoke was chosen president of Harvard College, in 1737. We hardly know when we have met with an article of American biography more interesting than this.

6. We have next a brief paper from the Rev. Dr. Holmes, of Cambridge, in which he proves conclusively that the claim of Rhode Island of having early established a universal toleration of religious opinions, is altogether unfounded. He maintains that in the act of toleration, passed in 1664, the Roman Catholics were excepted, and he brings forward, as evidence of this, a copy of an act of the General Assembly of that State, passed in 1783, repealing the excepting clause in the act of 1664, and extending to Roman Catholics all the rights and privileges of Protestant citizens. We presume this sets the question at rest for ever.

7. We then have a letter from Colonel George Morgan to General Washington, enclosing the Lord's prayer in Shawanese; and the volume closes with biographical sketches of several of the deceased members of the Society. Of these, the notices of the Rev. Drs. Freeman and Prince, by their respective colleagues, Messrs. Greenwood and Upham, are deservedly more full and extended, since these venerable men were among the founders and fathers of the Society.

We cannot take leave of this volume without strongly recommending it, and the series of works to which it belongs, to the patronage of the community. We know of no set of books more deserving of a place in a public or private library. We regret to learn that the sales have not been sufficient to reimburse the Society for the cost of their publication; although the labor of preparing the volumes for the press is performed gratuitously by its members. The Society have recently resolved to publish a volume annually, and have reduced the price to one dollar a volume. We trust they will meet with sufficient encouragement to authorize them to proceed in their useful and meritorious labors.

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2. — *Memorials of Mrs. Hemans; with Illustrations of her Literary Character from her private Correspondence.* By Henry F. Chorley. 8vo.

This volume is an extension of a series of papers, printed not long since, in "The Athenæum." They were read at the time with a deep interest, heightened by the recent death of the lamented poetess, in whose memory they were composed. The time probably has not yet come, when a complete life of Mrs. Hemans can, with propriety, be written. The circles in which she moved are yet too unbroken; the persons with whom she was connected are still on the stage; too many chords of feeling would vibrate to the touch of the biographer's hand.

Mr. Chorley has given as minute a sketch of Mrs. Hemans's life, as he could do, with a proper regard to the feelings of her survivors. He has confined himself mostly to such details as have a bearing on her literary career exclusively, leaving the delicate circumstances of her domestic life hardly touched upon. He gives some interesting notices of her childhood and youth, and some valuable details of her family. But we cannot, on the whole, applaud the editor's part in this volume. His narrative is far enough from being either perspicuous or graceful. He feels bound to moralize and philosophize, at every breathing place; and his speculations and sentiment are not sufficiently ingenious or affecting, to pay for the trouble of reading them. A man or woman either, who sets a just value upon time, and thinks it proper for a book to have either freshness of style, or vigor of sentiment, or clearness of ideas, will assuredly skip over every one of Mr. Chorley's dissertations, and read nothing else than the mere facts and Mrs. Hemans's letters. It is a great pity that so much ink, paper, space, and time should be taken up with unmeaning words. It would be a good thing for some publisher to print "Chorley's Memorials," with the omission of every thing belonging to Chorley.

The letters will be read with interest, by all who take an interest in Mrs. Hemans. They are written with entire simplicity, and without the slightest thought of publication. The propriety of giving such letters to the public, at least so soon after the author's death, may well be questioned. But setting that consideration aside, the greater part of the letters will give a very agreeable impression of Mrs. Hemans's private character, and to most people, quite a new view of her intellectual qualities. The sad and solemn strain of her poetry had not prepared us for the ease, vivacity, and wit, with which they abound. They are written in

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a gay, off-hand style, full of lively sallies and ludicrous images, and show any thing but a turn for sentimental melancholy. The familiar tone, and rapid manner with which they were thrown off, forbid our making them a measure of her intellectual ability; and yet we find in them occasionally a beautiful piece of criticism, or a profound reflection, that would appear well in an elaborate essay. The most agreeable letters of the whole collection are those in which she describes her visits to the Lake, and to Walter Scott. We doubt whether the character of Wordsworth and Scott have ever been more truly represented; the one, an amiable egotist, absorbed in his poetical reveries, or reading aloud his own works, or talking about Rydal and Grassmere, with which he has identified his poetical existence; and the other, never alluding to himself but once, and that in joke.

We have been rather unpleasantly affected with one or two things in these letters. Mrs. Hemans indulged herself, it seems, in ridiculing her visitors and correspondents; visitors who were drawn to her by reverence and love; and correspondents whose intense admiration of her works could only vent itself in grateful and sometimes extravagant epistles. There is no doubt that many of these people were troublesome enough, and their calls an importunate draft upon her time; there is no doubt that many of the letters she received were ridiculous and tasteless outpourings of boyish or girlish admiration. But a little reflection would have taught Mrs. Hemans that the love and veneration which a great poetess inspires, even in awkward and clownish spirits, is no fit subject for ridicule, and her good feelings should have repressed the lively sally, even in confidential intercourse with her friends. *Friends will sometimes print.* There are many passages in the letters that must cut deep somewhere; there are many sarcastic descriptions, that must be excessively mortifying to somebody. We fancy that her American admirers come in for a full share of ridicule, and we think it quite likely they had a full share in that "Albumean persecution," which she so humorously describes. Some of her American friends are men whose character and fame are the world's property; and of them she never speaks but with high and becoming respect. But such is not the case with far the greater part. This topic ought to be distinctly considered, because we Americans often make great mistakes that expose us to the derision of distinguished foreigners. Many enthusiastic spirits among us fancy that the great English authors, whose works they admire, are beings set apart and sanctified from vulgar life, and that the incense wafted across the Atlantic will be a grateful tribute to them in their Olympian abodes. They accordingly sit down to

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their desks, and fill out sheet after sheet of foolscap with high-flown panegyric, send it off, and get thoroughly laughed at for their pains. Such people,—they are generally inexperienced young gentlemen and sentimental young ladies,—make the universal Yankee nation appear in the eyes of Christendom to be a mighty generation of greenhorns. A little more self-respect, and a little less desire "to be kicked by the duke," would save our countrymen from many a mortifying comment.

Mr. Chorley has done wrong in publishing such things as we have spoken of. It was imprudent, and in bad taste, to write them; but it is a treachery to the confidence of friendship to print them. Public opinion ought to frown the practice down, and set the seal of reprobation upon it; or all people who think they are distinguished or are going to be, must cease writing confidential letters. And then how dull and tiresome will everybody's correspondence become! How soon will the lively interchange of thought per mail die out; and what an alarming falling-off will take place in the revenues of the Post-office! The Cadmean invention will cease to supply the place of personal intercourse, and Mr. Kendall's occupation will be gone.

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3. — *The American Almanac and Repository of Useful Knowledge, for the Year* 1837. Boston; published by Charles Bowen. 12mo. pp. 324.

We rise from the examination of some of the most distinguished almanacs of France, England, and Germany, with the conviction that our "American Almanac" stands unsurpassed by any of this most valuable class of periodical publications. Its astronomical calculations, executed by a well-known enthusiast in the vigils of the astronomer, and in the tedious tasks of numerical calculation, are adapted by their generality and minuteness to the wants of the nicest observer, in every part of the United States, and place this department of the work far above that of all but the professedly astronomical almanac. In its meteorological and other miscellaneous information, it is admirably suited to the wants of the country; but, in the extent, the variety, and the correctness of its statistical information, it is without a rival. The statistical department in the other almanacs, consists of little more than a court calendar and annual register, with some general account of the population, &c. of different countries, repeated year after year, with only such changes as are absolutely required. In the American Almanac, on the

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contrary, the repetitions are only such as are necessary, while the whole subject is re-modelled each year by its laborious editor, the wonderful accuracy of whose information with respect to every point of lexicography, geography, and statistics we believe to be almost unequalled, unless it be in Germany, the land of living encyclopedias.

The principal source of interest in most almanacs, from those earliest known, nearly to the present day, consisted in the astrological prophecies which were artfully mingled with the astronomical predictions, in a way well fitted to impose upon the ignorant; who, seeing the one invariably fulfilled, must naturally have extended their credit to all, supposing them the results of one and the same occult science. This class of almanacs has been rapidly diminishing before the progress of knowledge; but it may possibly revive and flourish anew beneath the mystical influence of the fashionable philosophy just imported from Germany, which esteems a vague *guess* above a careful observation, and, dreaming about "the things in heaven and earth," believes in links of connexion which exist only in the fancy of the dizzy speculator. Adroitly trimming his sails to this favorable breeze, the Lilly of the nineteenth century may issue his oracles, derived, not from the study of the stars, but from the magnetical inspirations of some bed-ridden chamber-maid.

Within a few years, the character of almanacs has, however, undergone a great change and improvement, and a vast variety of them are now pouring into the world their streams of useful information. In England, we see the Mechanic's Almanac, the Stationer's, the Gentleman's, the Lady's, the Medical, the Evangelical, the Family, the Parochial, the County Almanacs, &c.; and in this country, the Farmer's, the Comic, the Christian, &c., so that be a man of what trade, profession, or employment soever, whether whig or tory, grave or gay, worldly or religious, he is sure to find one calculated, not only for his meridian, but also for his exact position in the world of business, of letters, of fashion, or of morals.

The present volume of the American Almanac, "besides the usual register of the national and state governments, an American and foreign obituary, and chronicle of events, contains, among various other matters, a valuable treatise on the 'Use of Anthracite Coal,' an account of 'Public Libraries,' a 'Statistical View of the Population of the United States,' a series of tables relating to the 'Cultivation, Manufacture, and Foreign Trade of Cotton,' and meteorological notices of Seasons and the Weather; but the subject more especially

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treated of under the Individual States, is that of INTERNAL IMPROVEMENT, particularly CANALS and RAIL-ROADS."— *Preface.*

Under each of these heads is condensed much information interesting and valuable to the domestic economist, the scholar, the merchant, the statesman, and the patriot; and the whole collection evinces the soundest discrimination and the most laborious investigation, and is as far as possible removed from the little arts, with which the ignorant and indolent book-maker is wont to gild over his inferior fabric of commonplaces.

We trust that the happy suggestion of the editor, with regard to the establishment of public libraries by the national government, will not be allowed to lie dormant in the pages of the Almanac, but that it may fall on good ground and spring up to the benefit of science and literature. We also hope that the want, alluded to by his scientific assistant, of an observatory, will not much longer be a disgrace to the country. We demand it of our merchants, to wipe off this disgrace, in discharge of the immense debt of gratitude due from commerce to her mother science. We demand it of our nation, whose very being, as a member of the civilized world, depends upon the labors of astronomy; of our government, all whose enlightened features and free institutions are the result of profound study into the history of the world, and of intimate acquaintance with the wisdom of ages; to supply from her own breast the craving wants of American intellect, and erect on her territories the watch-towers of science and the citadels of literature. The fort and the frigate are not more valuable guards against the foreign invader, than is the public library, the never-dying teacher of the schoolmaster and the statesman, against the more imminent perils from the ambitious demagogue. The country owes it, therefore, to her children to provide these bulwarks of her liberties, and she might accomplish in a few years what would be the labor of centuries, if left to the disunited and precarious contributions of private liberality. We cannot, however, join in the complaints of many of our learned friends, in regard to the little which has been done by our men of wealth to aid the intellectual advancement of the country. We look upon all such murmuring, as ingratitude to the munificent founders and patrons of the colleges and libraries which are spread over the whole United States. A greater concentration of these liberal efforts would, undoubtedly, have hastened the advance of literature; but we must not forget that the permanence of our political institutions depends less upon the brilliancy of our geniuses, than upon the intelligence of the middling classes; so that our temple of science should rather

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be of the Egyptian than the Gothic architecture, — have more the form of the pyramid than the cathedral, and rather boast of the breadth of its base than of the number and elevation of its spires.

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4. — *The Knickerbocker, or New York Magazine, for October,* 1836.

The October number of this Magazine treats us rudely and wrongly. We are sorry for it, for we like both editor and work. The matter of animadversion is the review of Glass's "Life of Washington," in the 92d Number of our journal.

We need not trouble ourselves with the fling at the "young gentleman who perpetrates the classical articles in the North American," any further than to say that it involves a two-fold mistake. We obtain our contributions in that department from various sources, and the author of the article in question is not a youth.

The writer of the notice in the Knickerbocker says, that the beauties of Glass's history are not "even so much as hinted at," in our review. We, however, expressly said, that Glass "is often happy in the choice of words and phrases," and mentioned "terseness and strength" as characteristic of portions of his work.

The writer goes on to complain, that "no merit whatever is ascribed to the fact of the author's having written his work at a distance from all those aids to composition, with which others are so abundantly supplied." What is meant by ascribing *merit* to the *fact* here stated, we do but indistinctly apprehend; but certain it is, that we took care to specify the want of the "necessary helps" to writing Latin, as one of the difficulties with which Glass had to struggle; and we clearly alluded to this want as one of the circumstances which "disarm criticism," in judging of the work.

The reviewer spoke of the writings of Cato, Varro, and Lucceius, as "voluminous." This, especially in reference to Lucceius, the writer in the Knickerbocker considers as a grievous error. If, however, any one will read Cicero's celebrated letter to Lucceius, the twelfth of the fifth book of the Familiar Letters, he will find that this epithet, even in the case of Lucceius, was properly applied. That the writings of these three authors were equally voluminous, is neither asserted by the reviewer, nor is it implied in his language. The author of the notice supposes, that the reviewer must have been ignorant that any of the works of Cato and Varro have come down to our time; and the prin-

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cipal reason of his belief is, that the reviewer has classed these two authors with Lucceius, of whom "no writings whatever" remain. This reason, which in the opinion of the writer is so conclusive, is, however, entirely a fiction of his own. The fourteenth letter of the book of Cicero's Letters, referred to above, is ascribed to Lucceius, and its authenticity is now probably for the first time denied. The important inference, therefore, fails. These authors were mentioned together, because a very small part of their writings is now extant, and they are less generally known as authors, than some of those whose names immediately followed.

The writer of the notice proceeds; "The reviewer makes mention also of the lost comedies of Plautus and Terence, and thinks, that if we had them, not only the 'vocabulary' of the Latin language, but its 'compass of expression' would be greatly enlarged." He then says, "that the genuine comedies of Plautus, as fixed by the Varronian canon, were only twenty-one in number, and that of these we have twenty remaining. Consequently but one is lost. What a wonderful play this lost one must have been," &c. Here is a misrepresentation, which would not have found its way into the work where it appears, except through some mishap. What the reviewer said was this. "If the voluminous writings of Cato, Varro, and Lucceius, and the lost works of Cicero, Livy, Sallust, Cæsar, Tacitus, Pliny, and of the numerous orators mentioned by Cicero and Tacitus, had been preserved; and if we now possessed the lost comedies of Plautus and Terence, and the innumerable dramatic works, which appeared in Rome, from the time of Plautus to the commencement of the decline of the Latin language, no doubt the vocabulary, as well as the compass of expression, would be enlarged." The writer, as may be seen above, has on his own responsibility inserted the word "greatly" before the word "enlarged"; an interpolation which was necessary in order to make his objection of any force. In addition to this, what must be the unscrupulousness of a writer, who would represent the reviewer as drawing his inference from Plautus and Terence only, when he had in fact drawn it from a long catalogue of authors?

As to the number of the lost plays of Plautus and Terence, without entering on a discussion of the question, it may be sufficient to say, that this writer himself has admitted, that one play of Plautus is lost, and he might have added, that parts of others are likewise lost; and if he had consulted Professor Anthon, he might have ascertained, that "the most learned and intelligent critics" have differed very widely as to the number of the come-

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dies of Plautus, which they have admitted to be genuine, and that Varro himself seems on some occasion to have assented to the authenticity of several dramas in addition to the twenty-one, which are usually styled Varronian. Crusius is quoted by the writer of the notice, as advancing the opinion, "that in all likelihood we have *only* lost *above* one or two of the dramas of Terence." This language is not the most intelligible; but it seems to be here admitted, that enough of Terence has perished to justify the language of the reviewer. The whole passage is given above.

The reviewer had said, that "the changes of termination to make English names Latin, should be conducted by some rule;" and showed by examples, that Glass is faulty in this respect. The writer of the notice remarks, that inconsistencies like those pointed out in Glass, occur in other writers. This does little towards proving the rule not to be a proper one. The difference between Glass and the other authors referred to is this. In Glass, the faults in question are frequent; in the authors referred to, they appear so seldom, as to prove them to be mere negligences.

The writer of the notice is unskilled in verbal and grammatical criticism. His defence of Glass in the frequent use of the word *velitatio* is, that this word is used in approved translations from the Greek into Latin. But in such translations verbal exactness is usually aimed at; and, on this account, from the necessity of the case, great purity of language has not been required. Not one of his remarks on the other criticisms of the reviewer have the remotest bearing on the points at issue. The following is an instance of his acuteness most favorable to himself. The reviewer had objected to the phrase, "vacuandi recipiendique rationi contrarium." The author of the notice supposes, that all will be right, by inserting the reciprocal pronoun before "rationi." But in the name of all that is Latin, what does "vacuandi recipiendique se rationi contrarium," mean?

The writer says, that the motto on the title-page of Glass, was written by Professor Anthon; and adds, "Will it be believed that this learned reviewer has certainly swallowed the whole for a genuine quotation from Cicero," and "actually mistook a piece of modern Latin for a passage from Cicero?" This he pronounces "the best part of the story." What deplorable shamelessness is here! The reviewer made no mention of this motto, nor alluded to it directly or indirectly.

For his credit's sake, and that of all who print for him, we commend our censor to a more self-denying use of his pen. It is an unsafe instrument in some hands.

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5. — *A Treatise on the Physiology and Pathology of the Ear; containing a Comparative View of its Structure, Functions, and various Diseases; Observations on the Derangement of the ganglionic Flexus of Nerves, as the Cause of many obscure Diseases of the Ear; together with Remarks on the Deaf and Dumb.* Sixth Edition. By John Harrison Curtis, Esq., Aurist in Ordinary to his Majesty, &c., &c., &c., &c. London; Longman, Rees, Orme, Brown, Green, and Longman, Paternoster Row. 1836. 8vo.

This is, on the whole, a useful book. The mere fact, that it has reached the sixth edition, speaks very distinctly in its favor. If it does not treat profoundly the various topics that come under notice, still the author is evidently a man of extensive experience, with a good talent for observation and a fair share of practical knowledge.

The subject of which it treats is one of deep interest. The diseases of the ear are so frequent, coming on often from very slight causes, sometimes without any known cause, and are so apt to terminate in partial or total deafness, that any thing that is calculated to throw light on the subject, cannot be regarded with indifference.

It is well known too, that when the function of hearing is impaired or destroyed, it is exceedingly difficult to restore it. It is therefore very desirable to understand those diseases that lead to its destruction, to learn, if possible, the means by which they can be arrested, and at any rate to be able to distinguish between those that produce only a temporary deafness and those that cause a permanent loss of the function.

Many persons are of opinion, that this department of surgical knowledge has not kept pace with some others; that the diseases of the eye, for example, are much better understood than formerly; that many affections, that once terminated in the loss of sight, are now within the control of art; that vision is in many cases, at the present day, easily restored, where a cure would formerly have been thought impossible; but that nothing of this kind has taken place with regard to the diseases of the ear.

To a certain extent this is true. A great improvement has unquestionably been made in what is termed ophthalmic surgery, while it cannot be denied that not a few of the diseases of the organ of hearing wholly baffle the art. But this should not be attributed altogether to a neglect of the subject; the difficulty in fact lies deeper. The loss of hearing very often arises from

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the state of the internal ear or the brain; and in most of such cases, all that science can do is to teach the fact, without furnishing a remedy. Very many of the diseases of the organ of sight, on the contrary, are situated in the eye itself, the brain and optic nerve being unaffected, and not a few of these produce partial or total loss of vision. It fortunately happens that many of these cases are within the reach of art, and by a delicate, though not a very difficult operation, the functions of the eye may be restored. But a small proportion, on the other hand, of those diseases of the ear which terminate in deafness, are situated in the external organ, and a few only of these are in the present state of knowledge within our control.

It is probable that the mere loss of hearing is not so great a privation as the loss of sight; yet we know that the deaf are ordinarily far less cheerful and happy than the blind. This can perhaps be accounted for by the fact, that the loss of hearing is more frequently in consequence of a diseased state of the brain, than the loss of sight. Another circumstance also seems to favor this opinion; and that is, that insane persons are very often deaf, while the sense of sight is rarely affected in them.

Even when deafness is the consequence of some defect in the external organs, it is not very often that it can be removed by any human means, and still less often by a surgical operation; differing essentially, in this respect, from the diseases of the eye.

It is well known that the loss of hearing sometimes arises from an obstruction of the Eustachian tube, the canal which runs from the back part of the throat to the cavity of the tympanum. Through this canal the air passes from the mouth, the membrane of the tympanum is in this way kept tense, and consequently vibrates better when sounds strike upon it. The air is occasionally prevented by colds in the head, as they are called, and other inflammatory affections about the throat, from passing through this canal, and so long as the passage is obstructed, the sense of hearing is rendered more or less imperfect. In some cases this obstruction is permanent and complete, and in such cases permanent deafness is the consequence.

From a knowledge of the fact, that the membrane of the tympanum may be ruptured, and the sense of hearing remain unimpaired, Sir Astley Cooper was led to suggest and practise an operation, in cases of deafness arising from an obstruction of the Eustachian tube, that for a time promised very favorable results. The operation was very simple; the membrane was merely punctured by some small sharp-pointed instrument like a couching-needle. The air was in this way admitted to the cavity of the tympanum, and the tension of the membrane thus

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restored. In some cases, there was for a time great apparent relief from the operation; the patients actually heard better, or thought they did; but the good effects were not found to be permanent, and it is now almost altogether abandoned. We are surprised to perceive, that Mr. Curtis entertains so favorable an opinion of it; we doubt whether he will find many to agree with him. We have, however, alluded to this operation, because it promised as much as almost any one for the relief of deafness, that has ever been suggested, and because it is now usually regarded as an entire failure. It shows that much has not been accomplished by surgical operations for the restoration of hearing.

Mr. Curtis's book can be easily understood by most persons. It is not burdened with technical language, and would perhaps even be more interesting to general readers than to professional ones. It will be useful to all classes, by making them perceive the importance of early attention to the first indications of impaired hearing, for this it very properly inculcates. Its plan is judicious. It first describes the organ of hearing and its healthy functions in man, and after giving an account of those organs in some of the inferior animals, it proceeds to an examination of the diseases.

We are pleased to see the increased attention that is bestowed upon this subject, and are desirous that it should still more occupy the thoughts of scientific professional men. On this account we should be glad to have Mr. Curtis's book very generally circulated; not because it is precisely the work we could wish, but because we know of no other, that is, on the whole, to be preferred to it. At any rate it presents the points that require investigation, if it does not always suggest the best mode of conducting it; and thus, is likely to induce observation and excite inquiry that may lead to very important results.

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6. — *Poems*, by Oliver Wendell Holmes. Boston; Otis, Broaders, & Co. 12mo. pp. 163.

We have seldom had more genuine enjoyment in the course of our critical labors, than in examining this unpretending little book. In these days, we look with some dismay upon a volume of poems, especially if it be a little one: they are apt to exhibit a remarkable economy of the material, and a prodigal use of the washes and varnishes by which the want of it is supplied. "Things of eve" and "things of morn," with various other creatures of equivocal generation, have figured in such pages,

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till it seemed as if poetry had lost its connexion with manly sentiment and true human nature. The consequence of this imposture has been, that poetry has almost dwindled from public observation. Whenever a decided genius like Mrs. Hemans appears, instead of being received with favor because she is a poet, poetry is indebted to her for finding for it eyes to see and ears to hear; while writers who have no such commanding claim to attention, after being flattered and possibly read in their little circles, sink quietly into forgetfulness, and are never heard of more.

Mr. Holmes does not write in this mezzotinto style; he reminds us more of the clear strong lines of the ancient engravers. His manner is entirely his own, manly and unaffected; generally easy and playful, and sinking at times into 'a most humorous sadness.' The latter is evidently his favorite style, and we think his best. There was no need of the defence of this kind of writing which we find in his preface; all poetry which has any relation to humanity, will deal in smiles as well as tears. The critic may demonstrate that it is undignified in the poet to entertain his readers; but, an appeal being open from criticism to nature, whoever makes us laugh in this care-worn world will always be sustained by the common gratitude of mankind.

The first of these poems, called a Metrical Essay upon the subject of Poetry, was recited at the last anniversary of the Phi Beta Kappa Society, at Cambridge. As it was pronounced, it seemed to us more like inspiration than almost any thing which ever came in our way. As readers, we find it finished with much care, and abounding in striking thoughts and illustrations; but we apprehend that it was not so great a favorite with the writer as some of the lyrical pieces, which were struck off with less labor, but more power. One or two fine specimens of the latter are inserted in the larger poem by way of illustration; and with most readers these will be regarded as the pearls, and the poem as the string. We would not, however, do it injustice; the chief defect is the want of clearness, in expressing the truths in relation to poetical materials and inspirations which it contains. Some passages in it require to be read twice, before the reader is sure of their meaning. This occasional obscurity is strongly contrasted with the easy and natural flow of the lyrical poems. Nothing need be more beautiful than the lines on the Cambridge Church-yard, a place to which many hearts are bound by strong associations; and the strain upon the plan proposed by the Navy Department for breaking up the Frigate Constitution, an unhappy suggestion of some one who was probably more familiar with national ship-yards than national feelings, will rank with the best martial songs of England.

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We think that the comic pieces in this little collection are decidedly the best, or rather we should say those in which a quiet humor is blended with the pathetic so as to heighten the effect of the grotesque without destroying the plaintive character of the whole. An example of this is afforded in "The Last Reader"; it is evidently the kind of writing in which the author takes most pleasure; and if he should find room for poetical pursuits in the cares of his profession, we hope that this graceful style will be his choice. At the same time we must allow that his more comic pieces are exceedingly entertaining; particularly the lines upon the Comet, which is irresistible for its humor, and at the same time contains one or two passages of great power. The incident so well related in "The Height of the Ridiculous" might be fact, not fable.

We have not time to give an account of the work in detail, nor is it necessary; a book so entertaining is by this time in the hands of a great proportion of our readers. They will agree with us in the opinion that the author is a man of genius, and in the hope that the favor with which his work has been received may induce him to come before the public again. There is no profession so engrossing as to leave no time for poetry; and the mind must be of a very unmanageable sort, which any intellectual pursuit would unfit for the practical business of life. It is a great mistake to suppose that the best poetry proceeds from those who have nothing else to do. So far as profit is concerned, this pursuit will not be gainful; but in all that respects happiness, honor, and improvement, the member of any profession will do wisely to make a place among his other pursuits for this. There are not many writers to whom we should urge this argument; but where a writer possesses real talent and great powers of entertainment, no such prejudice ought to deprive the world of the enjoyment which he is able to give.

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7. — *Manual of Classical Literature, from the German of J. J. Eschenberg, Professor in the Carolinum, at Brunswick. With Additions.* By N. W. Fiske, Professor of the Latin and Greek Languages in Amherst College. Philadelphia; Key & Biddle. 1836. 8vo. pp. 664.

This work is divided into five parts, embracing the Archæology of Literature and Art, the History of Ancient Literature, Greek and Roman, the Mythology of the Greeks and Romans, Greek and Roman Antiquities, and Classical Geography and

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Chronology. Each of these important subjects is methodically and luminously presented. No single volume, however, would contain all the matter, which some would wish to see embodied in such a manual. It is, therefore, a very special recommendation of this work, that while it is sufficiently complete in its outlines, and ample in illustrations, to answer the purposes of constant reference, it continually suggests to teachers and to students the advantages and the means of more extended researches.

In the first general division of this work, the intelligent reader will be particularly interested in the sections upon the Archæology of Art. Every professional man ought to be acquainted with such facts, as are here adduced in illustration of the origin and progress of "sculpture," "lithoglyphy or gem-engraving," "painting," and "architecture"; and yet very little, if any, instruction upon these subjects is ever furnished in most of our seminaries of liberal education. In the Archæology of Literature, also, there is much information upon topics which do not often find a place in the exercises of college, but of which no one should be ignorant, who would sustain any reputation for intellectual accomplishments.

The History of Ancient Literature is just what students have wanted. The Greek and Roman authors are classified and chronologically arranged in their respective departments. The biographical sketches and critical remarks, although very condensed and succinct, are yet sufficiently discriminating and particular. Perhaps no part of the Manual is more striking, as a display of Eschenberg's extensive erudition and cultivated taste. We have here the splendid results of the elaborate investigations of an accomplished scholar.

It is, however, in this second division of the work, that Professor Fiske's improvements and additions arrested our especial attention. Many very valuable sections, those, for example, relating to the *Greek Orators, Philosophers, and Historians*, have the editor's mark, but are incorporated into the body of the work. His notes and references have also much enhanced the value of the original text. We should judge that he has himself been accustomed to pursue classical investigations with no common industry and success. But with no part of his additions were we better pleased, than his "Notice of the Hebrew, Grecian, and Christian writings," which, although in the Greek language, are not commonly included in the range of classical studies.

The sections upon *Roman or Latin authors* were translated by Mr. Crusé, late Professor in the University of Pennsylvania. This gentleman, as it is stated, had actually translated the

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whole of Eschenberg's Manual, three or four years before he became apprized of the undertaking of Professor Fiske. Why it was that he had not put his manuscript to press, we are not informed. And why it was necessary that the present edition should be published, before the "History of Roman Literature could be presented in the same form with that of the Greek, and with similar additions," we are quite at a loss to determine. But, as it seems to us, neither Professor Fiske's statement of the circumstances under which it is published, nor the distinct avowal of his own "purpose to prepare for separate publication something more complete on the Roman Literature, if the present effort should meet with approbation," affords a sufficient reason for issuing the work, until either he himself or Mr. Crusé had made it as satisfactory in the department of Roman, as it is in that of Grecian literature. It may be, however, that we are entirely unreasonable in our demands; for we have far more occasion to be grateful for what we have, than to murmur that we have no more.

A few words will suffice for the remaining divisions of the Manual. We were much pleased with the views of Ancient Mythology and Greek and Roman Antiquities. We do not see how the subjects could be better treated, in a work necessarily so comprehensive. Here also we observe very important additions by the Editor.

To give greater completeness to the Manual, Professor Fiske has added Part V. to the original work of Eschenberg. It comprises an "Epitome of Classical Geography," taken chiefly, but with alterations and improvements, from an English treatise by W. C. Taylor; and an "Introduction to Classical Chronology," which will be found to contain a much larger amount of useful matter than its brevity would indicate.

Professor Fiske has judged well in endeavouring "to express the author's meaning with strict fidelity," but "avoiding the long periods and involved arrangement of words and clauses, for which the German language is of known celebrity." He has thus brought out the work in the dress of a vernacular composition, rather than that of a translation. In his general style, he very happily combines clearness, vivacity, and manly elegance.

We cannot doubt that a second edition of the Manual will soon be demanded. In that edition we hope to see a fulfilment of the pledge respecting the history of Roman literature. It would also be an improvement, if some notices were given of the comparative merits of the best editions of the classical authors. The "copious Index of Subjects, prepared, but necessarily excluded," should not hereafter be wanting. It would greatly assist us in

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bringing into one view, all that the work contains upon a particular point of inquiry. If one half the references to German authors were omitted, the loss to most readers and students would be very trifling, in comparison with the advantages constantly accruing from a good *Index of Subjects.* We presume that the publishers were afraid of swelling the size of the volume, and thereby augmenting the expense. But such a change as that, which we have just intimated, might easily be made, without any detriment to any interest which ought to be consulted. We will add, however, that while the work is worth all that it costs, a reduction of the price is very desirable; and we trust will be found among the recommendations of a second edition.

Professor Fiske deserves much praise for the manner in which he has executed his undertaking. The American edition is certainly a great improvement upon the labors of Eschenberg; and we are confident, that those who examine it most carefully, will be most prompt and unqualified in their expressions of commendation.

We shall not be surprised, however, if the Manual should be unpopular among students, who may be required to use it as a text-book for recitations. The study of history and antiquities has constituted a part of the prescribed course of literary discipline in some of our colleges; but, for certain reasons, has almost invariably proved an entire failure. It ought not so to be. We hope that experiments with the Manual as a book for study will be successful. But of one thing we are sure. Every student in our colleges would do well to have it upon his table for daily consultation. It should also be found in all our academies and classical schools. And whenever it is purchased by a student, he should retain it as one of the books of his permanent library. Through life he may make it a most useful companion of his literary toils and recreations.

8.— *The Principles of Education as applied in the Mobile Institute.* By Norman Pinney.

This pamphlet gives a detailed account of the Institute, under the charge of Mr. Pinney, as principal, and four other gentlemen, as professors. The principles of the system are rational, and the course of studies and instruction, as detailed in the book, seem of a very practical character. If the gentlemen who are engaged in carrying on the Institute, are able to put their views

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fully into practice, they cannot fail of making their establishment one of immense advantage to the part of the country in which they live. Their pupils are received at an early age, and required to remain long enough under their care to go through the greater part of the course. They are under a constant supervision, and subjected to domestic influences, particularly that of female society. They are carried through the elements of a good English education, all the particulars of which are given; and the foreign languages, including Latin and Greek, are taught there. In respect to the *modern* foreign languages, Mr. Pinney lays down a principle of great importance, viz. that they should be taught not merely by native teachers, but by Americans. The writing, pronouncing, and speaking, should be under the exclusive control of the former, and the translating into English, together with the grammatical principles, should be superintended by the latter. This mode recommends itself at once to the reason; and now that we see it actually proposed to be carried into execution, we are surprised, that it has not been attempted, wherever circumstances permit.

Mr. Pinney's general views on Physical Education meet with our hearty concurrence. But there is one opinion on this subject from which we wholly dissent. It is substantially expressed in these sentences; "Gymnastics, which call for extraordinary and unnatural muscular exertion, are worse than useless. They tend to injure the constitution and shorten life." Nothing, in our view, can be farther from the fact. The object of gymnastics is to develope the muscles and call out all the physical energies "by extraordinary and unnatural muscular exertion," —that is, extraordinary and unnatural, according to the usual habits of sedentary men. The Greeks understood the subject of education, if education be considered the science of unfolding the powers of the whole man, better than any people since their time; and they placed gymnastics upon a level with geometry and music. The results of their system of education manifested themselves in many beautiful forms, not the least important of which was, that the Greeks became a race of extraordinary physical power and beauty. The Germans have given to this subject the most profound consideration. Their system of gymnastic exercises, as matured and perfected by Jahn, is one of the noblest achievements of physical inquiry. The treatise of that eminent man has been ably translated and enlarged by Dr. Charles Beck, Professor of Latin in Harvard University, himself one of the few thorough masters of the science in this country. But the narrow limits of a notice forbid our doing more than indicating our dissent from Mr. Pinney's views. On

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the whole, we have been gratified with the sound doctrine, moderate tone, and polished style of this pamphlet, and last, though not least, with the remarkable beauty of its typography.

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9. — *Memoir of James Jackson, Jr., M. D. Written by his Father; and Reminiscences of him, by a Fellow Student.* Boston; Hilliard, Gray, & Co. 16mo. pp. 228.

We are happy to see this beautiful and touching sketch reprinted in an accessible form. The first edition was circulated only among the personal friends of the lamented young man whom it commemorates. The volume was in a great measure filled with professional matter, which made it rather unsuitable for general circulation, however interesting to medical men. The memoir is written with affecting simplicity, and portrays the virtues of Mr. Jackson with tenderness and truth. All who knew him, (and the circle of his friends was large) concur in a high sense of the surpassing beauty of his character; and all who did not know him will be grateful to his father for allowing this tasteful and feeling tribute to his son's memory to go abroad. The effect of such a delineation of such a character, on our young professional men, cannot fail of being a good one. It is an eloquent testimony to the beauty of virtue in youth and early manhood.

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10. — *A Hebrew and English Lexicon of the Old Testament, including the Biblical Chaldee. Translated from the Latin of William Gesenius, Professor of Theology in the University of Halle-Wittemberg.* By Edward Robinson, D. D., late Professor Extraordinary of Sacred Literature in the Theological Seminary, Andover. Boston; Crocker & Brewster. 8vo. pp. 1092.

Twenty-five years ago, the wretched Lexicon of John Parkhurst was in almost universal use in this country, with the few who gave any attention to the Hebrew language. Here and there only might be found, as a rarity, a copy of Buxtorf's Manual of 1634, and before long Eichhorn's improved edition of Simonis found its way into a few libraries. In 1810–12, Gesenius, of Halle, the great Hebrew scholar of the day, published in two volumes his Hebräisch-deutsches Handwörterbuch des Alten Testaments, and in 1815, his abridgment of the same book for the use of the schools. The latter work was translated

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by Professor Gibbs, now of New Haven, and published at Andover in 1824. Recommended by its cheapness, as well as by its convenient arrangement, and wide superiority to previous books of the same kind, it has been, ever since, the standard work in the hands of our students, and has rendered the most important service to the cause of Hebrew learning among us. Nor will it be superseded by the present work, since for all purposes of the mere learner of the language it is sufficient, and its low price and small size (though comprehending the whole of the vocabulary,) will continue to give it an advantage.

Notwithstanding the greatly-improved edition of Simonis by Winer, of Erlangen, in 1828, the subsequent labors of Gesenius have secured to him undisputed precedence in the department of Hebrew lexicography. In 1823 and 1828, he published improved editions of his German Manual, and in 1829, the first *Fasciculus* of his Thesaurus Philologicus Criticus Linguæ Hebraicæ et Chaldææ Veteris Testamenti. This great work, which yet remains unfinished, is announced for publication, entire, within the present year. Meanwhile, Gesenius undertook, in 1827, what at first he intended only for a version into Latin of the edition of 1823. He could not, however, and did not fail, to introduce into it improvements, the fruit of his own later studies, and of those of cotemporary philologists; and, thus enriched, the work appeared in 1833, at Leipzic, under the title of Lexicon Manuale Hebraicum et Talmudicum in V. T. Libros. This is the work of which that of Professor Robinson, now before us, is a translation.

The volume, of course, contains the results of all the most recent investigations in Hebrew lexicography; and especially of the studies of that school, which, founded by Schultens in the last century, has thrown so much light upon the subject, by collations from the cognate dialects. This merit attaches also, though in an inferior degree, to the works of Eichhorn and Winer. But the distinguishing merit of Gesenius is to be found in the great sagacity and judgment which he has shown in the arrangement of his definitions, so as to present them in what may be called the historical order; the primitive meaning being placed first, and then the secondary meanings in their proper succession, so as to show how each, in its turn, grew out of the preceding.

As to the superiority of Gesenius's arrangement of the vocabulary to that adopted by earlier lexicographers, we are not altogether so confident. The former method, that of assigning every word to its place in the alphabet, doubtless facilitates the use of the Lexicon for beginners. On the other hand, to a person who has made some proficiency, it is much more satisfactory to see all derivative words arranged under their

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roots respectively. We are not sure that, for Hebrew, either of these arrangements alone, is so good as that of Scapula's Greek Lexicon, which gives each word under its root, and, for the novice's convenience, adds an alphabetical index, referring from each word to the place where it is treated in the body of the work.

But we have not undertaken at this time a criticism of Gesenius. In the translator's well-known learning, diligence, good judgment, and love of accuracy, the public has every pledge that could be desired, for the faithful execution of his task. The printers have also well done their part, which is a thing of the first importance in a work of this kind. The paper and type are of good quality, and the arrangement of the page altogether convenient. It is impossible to print Hebrew with perfect accuracy, even if the person most interested can directly superintend the press, which it appears was not the case in the present instance. Accordingly, in turning over the pages, — for as yet, we have made no use of the translation in study, — a few typographical errors strike our eye; as p. 360, חֶסֶד, for חֶסֶר; חַסְרָה for חַסְרָה; p. 449, יִשְׁשְׂמֵר for יִשְׁשְׂכָר; p. 592, מְנַשֶּׁת for מְנַשֶּׁה; and in many places points have fallen out, from within or beneath the letters.

We venture to suggest to the learned translator, that, by an easy expedient, he might make the collations with the cognate dialects, in some degree useful to persons not skilled in those tongues. We wish that to another edition, he would prefix tables of the Syriac, Arabic, and Æthiopic alphabets. (Coptic is less quoted, and generally, we conceive, to much less purpose.) This would enable the mere Hebrew student to form a judgment of the degree of resemblance between the Hebrew root and that in the related language, from which illustration is sought; and a little practice would soon enable him to detect the resemblance, even where in the different languages cognate letters are interchanged. It would be of course unnecessary for this purpose, to give any account of the respective vowel systems, the vowels in this family of languages not being the part of words, in which their affinities are to be traced.

We shall certainly be glad to see Gesenius's large work. But in the mean time, the possessor of this volume may be satisfied that he is adequately furnished for any course of Hebrew study into which he is likely to be led. It is the more welcome, because it is in no degree in advance of the need. Some judgment may be formed of the extent to which Hebrew studies are now pursued among us, from the statement of Professor Robinson, that, within four years, there appear to have been imported "not much less than 1500 copies of Jahn's Hebrew Bible, and not far from half that number of the Lexicon of Gesenius."

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11. — *Discourse delivered before the Alumni of the University of Pennsylvania, at their First Annual Meeting on the 14th of July*, 1836. By THOMAS J. WHARTON. Philadelphia; James Key, Jr. & Brother. 8vo. pp. 46.

THIS discourse was delivered at the eightieth commencement of the Pennsylvania University. Both in style and matter it is one of the best discourses of the kind, which this season has produced. The historical notices of the University, which we find in it, are exceedingly interesting, though the facts contained in them have not been generally known beyond the limits of Pennsylvania. Most of them are highly honorable to the character of the State and of its capital city. In the year 1743, though Philadelphia contained but 12,000 inhabitants, the amount subscribed in aid of the University by the gentlemen who projected it, was more than £2000, and in a few years more it rose to upwards of 7000 pounds sterling. The first suggestion of the institution was made by Dr. Franklin, to whom the city of Philadelphia was so largely indebted in almost all projects for the public good.

During the early period of the American revolution, the governors of the college were suspected of being unfriendly to the cause of the colonies. This turned the popular prejudice strongly against the institution, and in 1779 the case was brought before the legislature. It was alleged that the trustees had "departed from the plan of the founders, and narrowed the foundation of the institution." The enemies of the college totally failed to make good the charge; but the rancor of party spirit supplied the lack of proof, and the charter of the college was annulled. This, Mr. Wharton states, is the first and only instance in which the legislature of Pennsylvania has ventured to abrogate a charter or interfere with vested rights. The proceeding, however, was reversed by the next legislature, and ample reparation made to the college for this base violation of its chartered rights. Mr. Wharton's comments upon this proceeding strike us as not only sound, but seasonable. It is well to apply the lessons of the past, in forming a judgment upon the current radicalism of the present.

Mr. Wharton's style is full, elegant, and dignified. If we were inclined to find fault, we should do so on the score of its diffuseness. But the rhetorical nature of such an address is perhaps a justification. At any rate, the address is so full of just opinions well expressed, — the tone and spirit of it are so temperate and wise, — that we are only inclined to dwell upon its excellences.

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12. — *Influence of the Ministry at Large in the City of Boston.* By A Spectator. Boston; James Munroe & Co. 12mo. pp. 72.

This pamphlet is a collection of papers, which were printed some time ago in the Christian Register. It is full of details of the deepest interest, set forth in a style of singular terseness and descriptive strength. The sketches, drawn from real life, and real life in its humblest form, rival in pathos and power the pictures of romance. The author of this little book has evidently been, not merely an eyewitness, but an actor in the scenes he describes. His manner of telling the touching stories he has collected, of want and woe, of vice reformed, and unbelief changed to faith, is too vivid and feeling to have been acquired by art and study. We have been constantly reminded, while reading these papers, of the celebrated "Passages from the Diary of a Physician," except that the latter are longer, more elaborate, and more finished. The former are the more touching and vivid. "The short and simple annals of the poor" are here forcibly related, and hard must be the heart which is not moved to pity, by the sad narration.

The author of these papers goes into a thorough discussion of the effects of the ministry at large, in all its bearings. It appears to us that his arguments are perfectly conclusive, as to the beneficial agency of such a ministry, and that they must awaken a powerful sympathy with the efforts of those whose talents are devoted to so noble a career of duty. We are happy to learn that New York has followed the example of Boston. A single society, influenced by the stirring eloquence of the Rev. Mr. Dewey, has raised an ample sum for the support of a minister at large; and we understand that one of the most distinguished young men in the profession is at present employed in that responsible office.

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13. — *An Address delivered before the Massachusetts Charitable Mechanic Association, at the Celebration of their Tenth Triennial Festival, October* 6, 1836. By James Lloyd Homer. Boston; Homer & Palmer. 8vo. pp. 40.

Without making any pretensions to fine writing, Mr. Homer has given us a very excellent discourse. His aim is to impart instruction and inspire just sentiments. He speaks as a practical man to practical men; as a patriot to his countrymen; and as a Bostonian, to the mechanics of the good town. In the

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first part of his discourse, he points out the defective organization and imperfect action of the Society whom he addresses. This duty he performs with freedom, but in no harsh spirit. To illustrate his views, he introduces, with great propriety, descriptions of similar associations in other cities. In this part of his discourse, he states a variety of interesting facts as to the condition, intelligence, and opportunities of acquiring knowledge, enjoyed by the mechanics in Philadelphia, New York, and elsewhere. Mr. Homer then considers the subject of combinations and *strikes* among journeymen, and points out their true character and disastrous consequences. His remarks upon this topic have an especial value, coming as they do from a man who has a full and practical acquaintance with the course of affairs among the mechanics.

The whole discourse is animated with an excellent moral feeling. Mr. Homer inculcates habits of order, sobriety, and self-respect, among mechanics, in a most emphatic manner. The address has much in it to interest a wider circle of readers, than that for whose particular instruction it was prepared.

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14. — *De la Réforme des Prisons, ou De la Théorie de l'Emprisonnement, de ses Principes, de ses Moyens, et de ses Conditions pratiques.* Par M. Charles Lucas, Inspecteur-général des Prisons du Royaume, Membre de l'Institut, &c. &c. Tome premier. Paris. 1836. 8vo. pp. 385.

We know it is very wrong to indulge ourselves in prejudices of any sort, whether in favor of theories or against them, in favor of practical men or of speculative writers. Both are important and useful in their place. But we confess we find it difficult to conquer a certain feeling of disgust and repugnance, when we see a plain practical subject overlaid and smothered under a mass of refined distinctions, formal divisions, technical phraseology, and scientific parade. There are some authors who seem to be aware that the value of their works depends on the number and power of their original ideas, or new combinations of facts and opinions, while there are others who appear to think nothing can have intellectual weight, unless it has the same quality physically, and that the number of reams of paper over which they can spread their elaborated ideas is quite as important as the number of ideas themselves. M. Charles Lucas, unfortunately for us, belongs to the latter class; and we have been

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compelled to turn over a great many useless pages, and to read a great many idle words, in order to present to our readers the brief meaning of the long harangue; "der langen Rede kurzer Sinn."

The main object of the work is to show, that a very different treatment is due to the different classes of persons, who, from various causes, are so unfortunate as to fall under the punishment of imprisonment; and that the juvenile offender, the debtor, the accused, the convicted of high crimes, and of less serious offences, the male and the female, should be subjected to very different discipline, according to the nature and aggravation of their offence, and the susceptibility of their characters. Now this is so strikingly true, and at the present day beginning to be so generally admitted, that we do not perceive the necessity of attempting to convince thinking men of it, by entering on the subject in a first volume of 385 pages, besides an introduction of 103, to be followed by, we know not how many, of equal dimensions. What is the utility of the division of imprisonment into three kinds; the *preventive*, to prevent escape and mutual corruption, the *repressive*, to prevent recommittals, and the *penitentiary*, to prevent the continuance of criminal habits and intentions?

All imprisonment of the guilty is, or ought to be, preventive and correctional. The only justifiable object of it is the prevention of crime; and the only question that need be raised on the whole matter, from beginning to end, regards solely the adaptation of the means to this proposed result, in relation to the different characters that are to be subjected to the punishment. Is this a question to be settled by theories? Is this a subject which requires volumes to discuss? Certainly it is important to have definite and comprehensive views on this as on other topics; but experience, founded on continued and diversified experiments and researches, can alone determine the true value of particular means, and the relative success which attends different plans. Various schemes of imprisonment have been tried, both in this country and elsewhere, within a few years, and what we esteem most important in relation to the subject, at the present moment, is an accurate investigation of the results of these different practices. Sufficient time has not yet elapsed to develope all their consequences, and therefore such inquiries cannot be so entirely satisfactory and conclusive as we trust they will become a few years hence. Still much may now be determined with certainty, which is of very great value towards forming a perfect scheme of imprisonment; and as new suggestions are continually made, we feel confident that the path of improvement, on which we have entered, will be followed to the end.

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There is one evil connected with our system in this country, which is mentioned by M. Lucas, and for which we will now venture to suggest a remedy. He says, with truth, that the number of re-committals cannot be accurately ascertained here, because the liberated convict wanders from one State to another, and is never recognised, unless returned to the same penitentiary. It would not be difficult, we think, to detect these migrating rogues, if a regular periodical correspondence were maintained by the directors of each penitentiary with all the others in the Union, containing the names and personal description of all their inmates. The importance of the results of such communications would more than repay the labor of making them.

Another object of the work of M. Lucas, besides the developement of a grand theory of imprisonment, and one which he seems to consider of no slight importance, as he has given a considerable part of the Introduction and occasional hints throughout the volume to its assertion, is to disabuse the European public of the absurd notion, which seems to have prevailed to some extent in England, France, and Germany, that we are making valuable progress in this country in prison discipline, and that we have begun some establishments of the kind which might be profitably imitated in Europe. According to M. Lucas, there is no such thing as penitentiary discipline in this country. Nay, not merely so, but there never will, and never can be any such thing. He describes the American system as one, — but let him speak for himself;

"Un système qui arrivait à deux grands résultats, sans doute, à empêcher la *corruption mutuelle* des détenus, et à produire *l'intimidation*; mais un système purement *repressif*, dépourvu de toute éducation pénitentiaire. Nous irons plus loin; non seulement nous dirons à ces auteurs [Messrs. de Beaumont et de Tocqueville] que le système pénitentiaire n'est pas encore né aux États-Unis; mais que ce n'est pas même sur le sol américain qu'il peut et doit naître." — *Introduction*, pp. lviii., lix.

And a little further on he says; —

"Une fois parvenu à empêcher la corruption mutuelle des détenus et à produire l'intimidation, il est, sinon dans les calculs positifs, du moins dans les instincts secrets de la civilisation américaine, de ne pas aller au-delà. Il ne faut donc pas chercher un système pénitentiaire dans les résultats de la réforme américaine; il ne faut pas même l'attendre de ses essais, ni de ses efforts." — p. lxi.

This is so liberal, so enlightened and complimentary an assertion, that we scarcely know how to reply. We would not

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venture to intimate that M. le directeur des prisons du royaume could have any feeling of jealousy at the comparisons made between some American prisons, and the "*maisons centrales*," or the "bagnes" of France under his superintendence; and we confess our inability rationally to account for so unfortunate an ignorance of our system and character as is shown by the above sentences; — an ignorance so pertinacious that not even the perusal of the work of De Beaumont and De Tocqueville could remove it. Lest, however, so eminent a person should be again betrayed into such an unhappy mistake, we will in mere charity inform him, that in all prisons in this country, conducted on the plan of the Auburn reform, religious, moral, and intellectual instruction forms an essential part of the system; that in all treatises and essays on the subject, with which we are acquainted, long or short, such instruction is invariably spoken of as indispensable in the *theory of imprisonment;* (See Reports of Boston Prison Discipline Society, passim; article *Prison Discipline* in Lieber's "Encyclopedia Americana," and an article in "The Christian Examiner," July, 1836;) that the Reports of the directors of prisons generally speak of its importance and its good effects, and that some of them actually go into details of the reforms of character permanently produced by this, and by other means of *penitentiary discipline.* That we have not reduced our theory more completely to practice may perhaps be accounted for, by persons charitably disposed, from the fact that scarcely twelve years have elapsed, since the first attempt to introduce that reform which is now most approved; that great efforts are necessary to remove misapprehension, prejudice, and ignorance in the legislatures of the different States, by whose authority all alterations must be made; (prejudice and ignorance, by the way, which M. Lucas, with his experience and knowledge of the subject can scarcely be expected to appreciate or participate in,) and by the difficulty of finding suitable agents for carrying into effect new and untried plans. Notwithstanding all obstacles, however, the theory has been carried into practice in nine States of this Union, in the District of Columbia, and in Upper Canada, without counting Pennsylvania and New Jersey, which have adopted a different system, but one in the *theory* of which religious and other instruction is equally regarded as essential. What does M. Lucas require more? Are twelve years so long a period as to enable everybody to obtain the necessary information on this subject, and to spread the reform through the whole system of imprisonment in every corner of this wide land? Let us see what he will have effected, with his central power and ample means, in the course

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of twelve years, and then we shall be better able to judge of the quality of that civilization, which he describes in the following glowing terms of self-inspired enthusiasm.

"La civilisation évidemment prédestinée à doter notre siècle du système pénitentiaire, c'est la civilisation européenne, civilisation large et généreuse qui ne saurait s'arrêter à la limite de l'intimidation; l'élan de ses sympathies, l'urgence de ses besoins, lui commandent de la franchir, et de s'occuper au plus vîte de réaliser en fait cette correction des condamnés, dont elle a déjà inscrit le nom et reconnu l'obligation dans ses codes." — pp. lxi., lxii.

In answer to the reproach of incompletenesss in our reforms here, we think it may be useful to state the condition of the city of Boston and county of Suffolk, (nearly though not quite identical,) as to their prisons and modes of criminal discipline. The greater offenders are sent with those of other counties to the State Prison; those convicted of lesser offences, to the House of Correction; the accused, and the few debtors who, under the recent law, are still so unhappy as to be confined, are placed in the County Jail; while juvenile delinquents are taken care of, and properly educated in the House of Reformation. All these are on the most improved system, as we think, combining religious, moral, and intellectual instruction in due proportion with the labor and restraint required, — with the exception of the County Jail. We understand, however, that the city government have it in contemplation soon to remove this new and strong building, with the purpose of replacing it with one more conformable to the improved state of our knowledge in the construction of such edifices. When this is done, the system will be tolerably complete, and will be carried out in such manner, as will not be disgraceful to the city, the county, or the commonwealth.

In connexion with these establishments, we cannot but refer, with just pride, to that admirable private institution for the public benefit, the Farm School, which comes powerfully in aid of the other disciplinary resources of this community, and which is and will be, we doubt not, an incalculable blessing to many a sorrowing parent, and many a reckless child. The instincts of American civilization go farther than M. Lucas has imagined.

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15. — *A Good Life, extracted from the True Plan of a Living Temple. With an Introductory Essay.* By John Brazer. Boston; Joseph Dowe. 12mo. pp. 216.

"The Living Temple" of old John Howe was a work of great power, and had its day of influence and fame; but we may say of it what the editor of the little volume before us has said of another well-known book, "The Whole Duty of Man," "It well deserved its title, and was a very useful book in its day; but what may have been the whole duty of man a hundred and fifty years ago, does not comprise his whole duty now; and if it did, it would still need to be told in a language, and to employ a style of thought and illustration adapted to the prevailing tastes and wider knowledge of our age, or it would soon be laid aside, and left among antiquated and forgotten things."

The anonymous author of the "True Plan of a Living Temple" appears to have held a similar opinion, and, by his allusion to the work of Howe, tacitly expresses the design of accomplishing for the present age, what that good man accomplished for a former. In this he has been successful; and Dr. Brazer has done well in causing a portion of it to be reprinted here. The original work, consisting of three volumes upon a very extensive plan, was executed with too little compression and animation to be very interesting as a whole; its extreme diffuseness and uniform gentleness rendered it languid. But this defect will hardly be perceived in a volume of the present size; while the uncommon judiciousness and discrimination of its views, the sobriety and practicalness of its statements, the calmness and sweetness of its whole tone, must win for it the attention of serious readers, and insure to it a most useful influence. For those who are seeking in earnest their own moral and religious improvement, who desire a book which shall help them as a friend helps a friend, and who in their hours of serious reflection prefer a still small voice to that of passionate appeal, this will be a welcome publication.

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QUARTERLY LIST OF NEW PUBLICATIONS.

ANNUALS.

Peter Parley's Almanac, for 1837. New York. Freeman Hunt & Co.

The Parlour Scrap-Book, comprising sixteen Engravings, with poetical and other Illustrations. Edited by Willis Gaylord Clark. Philadelphia. Carey, Lea, & Blanchard.

The Union Annual, for 1837. Philadelphia. Published by the Sunday School Union.

The Jewel, or Token of Friendship, for 1837. New York. Bancroft & Holly.

BIOGRAPHY AND MEMOIRS.

Life of Washington, by Peter Parley. New York. Desilver, Thomas, & Co.

Life of Franklin, by Peter Parley. New York. Desilver, Thomas, & Co.

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Memoir of William Carey, D. D., late Missionary to Bengal, Professor of Oriental Languages in the College of Fort William, Calcutta, by Eustace Carey, with an introductory Essay, by Francis Wayland, D. D., President of Brown University. 1 vol. 12mo. Boston. Gould, Kendall, & Lincoln.

Eulogy on James Madison, by John Quincy Adams, delivered at the Request of the Mayor, Aldermen, and Common Council of the City of Boston. Boston. American Stationers' Company.

Select Remains of the Rev. William Nevins, with a Memoir. 1 vol. 8vo. New York. John S. Taylor.

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Gradations in Arithmetic, by Richard W. Green, A. M. Philadelphia. Henry Perkins.

History of the United States, for the Use of Schools and Academies, by John Frost, with thirty Engravings, by C. N. Parmalee, from Drawings, by J. Sartain. Philadelphia. E. E. Biddle.

An Arithmetical Guide, in which the Principles of Numbers are inductively explained, and adapted to the every-day Business of Life, by Richard W. Green, A. M. Philadelphia. Henry Perkins.

A Treatise on Language; or the Relation which Words bear to Things. In Four Parts. By A. B. Johnson. 1 vol. 8vo. New York. Harper & Brothers.

Keightley's Mythology, for the Use of Schools. New York. D. Appleton & Co.

The North American Spelling-Book, conformed to Worcester's Dictionary, with a Progressive Series of Easy Reading Lessons, by L. W. Leonard, Author of the "Literary and Scientific Class Book," and "Sequel to Easy Lessons." Revised Edition. Keene, N. H. George Tilden. 12mo. pp. 180.

This little work is somewhat beyond the range of our accustomed studies. But we cannot deny ourselves the satisfaction of saying, that, as far as we are able to form an idea of what a spelling-book should be, this is precisely that thing. Something more solid than praise is often obtained by well executed works of this humble description; and we are sure that something better than praise is the due of one, who, distinguished in the walks of natural science as well as of a responsible profession, yet finds time and taste for labors which, useful as they are, and capable of exercising some of the highest powers, still are apt to be all "unknown to fame."

An Address, delivered on Monday, December 22d, 1834, by Rev. John Ludlow, D. D., on the Occasion of his Inauguration as Provost of the University of Pennsylvania. 8vo. pp. 31.

Dr. Ludlow was inaugurated as Provost of the Pennsylvania University December 22d, 1834. On that occasion he delivered the very sensible discourse, the title of which we have copied above. In the first part of the address, the Provost discusses the subject of college government. We imagine he has seen reason to modify some of his opinions, since that time, or his experience must have been very different from that of any other head of a college in the country. He must have seen that the only way of maintaining good order and discipline among college students, is to insist upon an exact obedience to precise laws, and that the honorable feeling of a body of students is no more to be safely relied upon for correct conduct, than the honorable feeling of a body of grown-up men. In short, human nature is the same in the microcosm of a college, as in the macrocosm out of college.

The Provost proceeds to discuss, in a very candid spirit, the course of instruction in colleges. He defends the general principles of the old

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system, but admits that reform may be introduced in many of the details. His remarks on classical learning are sound and judicious; and the importance of the physical sciences is well set forth. The most earnest part of the discourse is that devoted to the subject of religious instruction. The sentiments uttered in it are liberal and enlightened. They are such as men of all sects and parties will readily assent to.

Dr. Ludlow's language is chaste and simple. Without any appearance of laborious effort, his style is precise and clear. His tone of thought is marked by manly strength and moderation. It is a fortunate circumstance in these times, that the sound and matured intellects among us come forward so frequently with the results of their reflections and the lessons of their wisdom.

Ciceronis Selectæ quædam Epistolæ. Accedunt notulæ et illustrationes Anglicæ. Cura M. L. Hurlbert. Philadelphia. H. Perkins. 12mo. pp. 336.

We like the plan of this book. There are few literary remains of any age more valuable and interesting than the letters of Cicero. They are elegant, simple, and easily understood, with a few historical illustrations. This selection seems to us to have been made with good judgment. In the notes, the author states first, the general object of the letter, and then explains the more difficult constructions and idioms. We think it will answer a good purpose in awakening an interest in a very important period of Roman history, and in giving the young scholar a pleasant and attractive view of the principal characters who figured in it.

Report on Public Instruction in Pennsylvania. By the Rev. Gilbert Morgan, A. M., late President of the Western University. Philadelphia. E. G. Dorsey. 12mo. pp. 24.

The lateness of the hour when this pamphlet reached us, makes it impossible to give the subject of it that attention which its importance demands. It is one of many indications that the people of Pennsylvania are seriously thinking of the indispensable necessity of raising their system of education to the level of the wants of the age. Mr. Morgan's Report goes into the details of a proposed new system, the most important features of which are a board of instruction, and a seminary for teachers. This plan shows a practical acquaintance with the profession of teaching, and deserves the serious attention of the government of Pennsylvania. It is to be hoped that the miserable disputes of political partisans will not prevent that great and powerful State from acting in a manner worthy of her character in a matter of such transcendent importance as the education of her children.

LAW.

Case of the Slave Child Med. Report of the Arguments of Council, and of the Opinion of the Court, in the Case of Commonwealth vs. Aves; tried and determined in the Supreme Judicial Court of Massachusetts. Boston. Isaac Knapp. 8vo. pp. 40.

MISCELLANEOUS.

The Young Husband's Book. 1 vol. Philadelphia, Carey, Lea, & Blanchard.

A Plea for Voluntary Societies, and a Defence of the Decisions of the General Assembly against the Strictures of the Princeton Reviewers. New York. J. S. Taylor.

The Fairy Book. New York. Harper & Brothers.

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Miscellaneous Writings of the late Samuel J. Smith, of Burlington, N. J.; collected and arranged by one of the Family, with a Notice of his Life. 1 vol. 8vo. Philadelphia. Henry Perkins.

The Gazetteer of the State of New York, comprehending its Colonial History, Geography, Geology, &c. &c., by Thomas F. Gordon. Philadelphia. Printed for the Author, by T. K. & P. G. Collins.

Yaradee; a Plea for Africa, in Familiar Conversations on the Subject of Slavery and Colonization. By F. Freeman, Rector of St. David's Church, Manayunk. 1 vol. 12mo. Philadelphia. J. Whetham.

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Pambour on Locomotive Engines upon Railways. Philadelphia. Carey & Hart.

Nature. Boston. James Munroe & Co. 12mo. pp. 95.

The Sketch Book of Youth. By Robert Ramble. 18mo. New York. B. B. Hussey.

An Introduction to Phrenology, in the Form of Question and Answer, &c. &c., by Robert Macnish, Author of the "Anatomy of Drunkenness," &c. 1 vol. Boston. Marsh, Capen, & Lyon.

Irving's Works. Vols. V. and VI. Philadelphia. Carey, Lea, & Blanchard.

Phrenology known by its Fruits, being a brief Review of Dr. Brigham's late Work, entitled "Observations on the Influence of Religion upon the Health and Physical Welfare of Mankind," by David M. Reese, M. D., of New York. 1 vol. New York. Howe & Bates.

Peter Parley's Bible Gazetteer. New York. Freeman Hunt & Co.

Report on the Subject of the Exploring Expedition to the South Seas. By J. N. Reynolds. 8vo. New York. Harper & Brothers.

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Report of the Magnetical Experiments made by the Commission of the Royal Academy of Medicine, of Paris, read in the Meetings of June 21st and 28th, 1831, by M. Husson, the Reporter, translated from the French, and preceded with an Introduction, by Charles Poyen St. Sauveur. Boston. D. K. Hitchcock. 16mo. pp. 172.

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Our views of this latter work were expressed in full in the Number for last April. The American reading public are under special obligations to Mr. Jackson for introducing it to them in an edition, in which it forms one set with Paley's Natural Theology, and Sir Charles Bell's Illustrations. Three volumes, got up in better style, without an extravagant price, are hardly to be seen; and three more useful volumes can scarcely be placed upon one's table.

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